

Stefan Zawadzki

Garments of the Gods

Studies on the Textile Industry and
the Pantheon of Sippar according
to the Texts from the Ebabbar Archive

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*Professor Michal Drews
and the team of doctors and nurses with gratitude*

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PREFACE

This book is a result of a few years of my studies on mostly unpublished texts from the Ebabbar archives of Sippar. For practical reasons, it has been divided into two parts. Part One is the study proper, while Part Two, to be published some time later, will include transliterations, translations, indices, and copies of some texts.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AASF	<i>Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae</i>
ABL	R.F. Harper, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Letters</i> (London and Chicago, 1892–1914).
ABC	J.H. Stevenson, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Contracts with Aramaic Reference Notes</i> (New York, Cincinnati, Chicago 1902).
<i>AfK</i>	<i>Archiv für Keilschriftforschung</i>
<i>AfO</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AHw	W. von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> (Wiesbaden 1965–1981).
<i>AoF</i>	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
AOS	American Oriental Society
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
<i>ASJ</i>	<i>Acta Sumerologica</i>
BM	Tablets in the collections of the British Museum, London
BRM 4	A.T. CLAY, <i>Epics, Hymns, Omens and Other Texts</i> (New Haven 1923).
<i>BSA</i>	<i>Bulletin of Sumerian Agriculture</i>
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> (1956–).
CCK	D.J. Wiseman, <i>Chronicles of Chaldean Kings (626–556 B.C.) in the British Museum</i> (London 1956).
CDA	J. Black, A. George and N. Postgate (eds.), <i>A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian</i> . 2 nd (corrected) printing (SANTAG 5, Wiesbaden 2000).
CM	Cuneiform Monographs
Cyr	J.N. Strassmaier, <i>Inschriften von Cyrus, König von Babylon</i> (Leipzig 1890).
CT	<i>Cuneiform Texts from the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum</i>
CTMMA 3	I. Spar, E. von Dassow, <i>Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, vol. 3: Private Archive Texts from the First Millennium B.C.</i> (New York 2000).
DAB	R. Campbell Thompson, <i>A Dictionary of Assyrian Botany</i> (London 1949).
Dar	J.N. Strassmaier, <i>Inschriften von Darius, König von Babylon</i> (Leipzig 1897).
GC	<i>Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions</i>
GC 1	R.P. Dougherty, <i>Archives from Erech, Time of Nebuchadrezzar and Nabonidus</i> (GC 1, New Haven 1923).

- GC 2 R.P. Dougherty, *Archives from Erech, Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods* (GC 2, New Haven 1933).
- Hdt. Herodotus, *Histories*, translated by G. Rawlinson (New York 1942)
- IBK K. Oberhuber, *Sumerische und Akkadische Keilschriftdenkmäler des archäologischen Museums zu Florenz* (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, Sonderheft 8, Innsbruck 1960).
- JCS *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
- JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
- JTVI *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute*
- JTVI 57 T.G. Pinches, "The Worship of Idols in Assyrian History in Relation to Bible References", *JTVI* 57 (1925) 10-29.
- KAR Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts
- KAV Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts
- NABU *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires*
- NBC Tablets in the Nies Babylonian Collection, Yale University
- NCBT Tablets in the Newell Babylonian Collection, Yale University
- NBDMich E.W. Moore, *Neo-Babylonian Documents in the University of Michigan Collection* (Ann Arbor 1939).
- Nbk J.N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabuchodonosor, König von Babylon* (Leipzig 1889).
- Nbn J.N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabonidus, König von Babylon* (Leipzig 1887).
- Ner B.T.A. Evetts, *Inscriptions of the Reign of Evil-Merodach, Neriglissar and Laborosoarchod* (Babylonische Texte Heft VI B, Leipzig 1892).
- NRV A. UNGNAD, M. SAN NICOLÒ, *Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden, Bd. I: Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden der Berliner Museen aus vorhellenistischer Zeit* (Leipzig 1935).
- NUVI 2 E. Salonen, *Neubabylonische Rechtsurkunden verschiedenen Inhalts II* (AASF Ser.B. T. 199, Helsinki 1976).
- NUVI 3 E. Salonen, *Neubabylonische Rechtsurkunden verschiedenen Inhalts III* (AASF Ser.B. T. 206, Helsinki 1980).
- OIP *Oriental Institute Publications*
- OIP 122 D.B. Weisberg, *Neo-Babylonian Texts in the Oriental Institute Collection* (OIP 122, Chicago 2003).
- OLZ *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*
- OrNS *Orientalia, N.S.*
- OrSu 49 O. Pedersén and S. Ólafsson, "Cuneiform Tablet in Carolina Rediviva," *Orientalia Suecana* 49 (2000) 107–110.

- OrSu* 50 S. Ólafsson and O. Pedersén, "Cuneiform Texts from Neo-Babylonian Sippar in the Gothenburg City Museum," *Orientalia Suecana* 50 (2001) 75–130.
- PEFQS* 32 Th. Pinches, "The Collection of the Babylonian Tablets belonging to Joseph Offord, Esq.," *PEFQS* 32 (1900) 258–268.
- PTS Tablets in the Collections of the Princeton Theological Seminary
- RA* *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale*
- RA* 74, p. 59 E. Sollberger, "The Cuneiform Tablets in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin," *RA* 74 (1980) 43–59.
- RAcc* F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens* (Paris 1921).
- SAA State Archives of Assyria
- SLA R.H. Pfeiffer, *State Letters of Assyria* (AOS 6, New Haven 1935).
- TCL 9 G. Contenau, *Contracts et lettres d'Assyrie et de Babylonie* (Paris 1926).
- TCL 12 G. Contenau, *Contracts néo-babyloniens I: de Téglath-phalasar III à Nabonide* (Paris 1927).
- TOTTEN D. Owen, "Cuneiform Texts in the Collection of Professor Norman Totten Part II," *Mesopotamia* 10–11 (1975–1976) 15–32.
- UCP *University of California Publications in Semitic Philology*
- UET 4 H.H. Figulla, *Business Documents of the New-Babylonian Period* (Ur Excavations Texts 4, London 1949).
- UF* *Ugarit-Forschungen*
- UVB *Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka*
- VAB *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*
- VAB IV S. Langdon, *Die neubabylonische Königsinschriften* (Leipzig 1912).
- VS *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*
- WZKM* *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
- YOS *Yale Oriental Series – Babylonian Texts*
- YOS 3 A.T. Clay, *Neo-Babylonian Letters from Erech* (New Haven and London 1919).
- YOS 6 R.P. Dougherty, *Records from Erech, Time of Nabonidus* (New Haven and London 1920).
- YOS 7 A. Tremayne, *Records from Erech, Time of Cyrus and Cambyse* (New Haven and London 1972).
- YOS 17 D.B. Weisberg, *Texts from the Time of Nebuchadnezzar* (New Haven and London 1980).
- YOS 19 P.-A. Beaulieu, *Legal and Administrative Texts from the Reign of Nabonidus* (New Haven and London 2000).

- ZA* *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie*
- ZA* 4 J.N. Strassmaier, "Inschriften von Nabopolassar und Smerdis," *ZA* 4 (1889) 106–152.
- 8^e Congrès J.N. Strassmaier, Einige kleine babylonischen Keilschrifttexte aus dem Britischen Museum, in: *Actes du 8^e Congrès International des Orientalistes* (Leiden 1893)

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EXPLANATORY NOTES

Abbreviated forms of monarchs' names, such as Camb, Cyr, Dar, Kan, Nbp, Nbk, Nbn, are used in accordance with the established practice. [KN] is used when the king's name cannot be identified. Ach. is used when the king's name is not preserved but we are certain that the text was written at the time of Persian rule over Babylonia.

Dates are quoted in the following order: day, month, name of ruler in abbreviated form, years of his reign. The dates refer to the Babylonian calendar.

When a tablet's size is mentioned, italics mean that a dimension is broken. If both digits are presented in italics, e.g. *5.8*, it means that in my opinion the size of the tablet exceeds 6 cm; dimensions such as *5.2* mean that the tablet measures less than 6 cm.

Except for BM 62582 + BM 65419 (join M. Jursa), BM 67534 + BM 68568 (join M. Kunert) and BM 99988 + BM 70915 (join M. Weszeli) all other are my own. The tablets are published with the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

I. INTRODUCTION: THE PRESENT STATE OF STUDIES CONCERNING THE GARMENTS OF THE GODS

Despite their importance and enormous number, texts from the temple archives of the Ebabbar sanctuary at Sippar dealing with the manufacture and distribution of garments have not been so far comprehensively analysed. In general, they concern the clothes needed both for cultic purposes (“garments of the gods”) and non-cultic purposes. This study is concerned only with the former, the latter group being left for future research.

The earliest available texts concerning garments of the gods, kept in the British Museum, were published in copies by J.N. Strassmaier.¹ They represent almost every kind of such texts: the classical *dullu pešû*, early and classical *miḥṣu tenû*² lists, texts concerning the issue or delivery of garments or wool for making or mending the gods’ or goddesses’ garments. The only group not represented was the so-called early *dullu pešû* texts, which are so far known only from a few tablets from the Ebabbar archives stored in the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin, and published in copies by A. Ungnad.³ Quite a number of additional texts of this type found in the collections of the British Museum will be published for the first time in Part 2 of this work.

Although some scholars have dealt with these texts they have not yet been the subject of systematic study. The majority of the texts known by 1980 were transliterated and translated by E. Salonen.⁴ The lack of detailed preceding studies⁵ on the texts influenced the quality of his book;⁶ the author failed to grasp characteristic regularities which become clear on closer analysis. Moreover, Salonen’s publication naturally does not contain texts published after 1980, especially those from CT 55–57.⁷ One hitherto unknown text was published recently by Bongenaar.⁸

¹ See Nbn, Nbk, Cyr, Cam and Dar.

² The meaning of these terms is discussed below.

³ Ungnad, VS 3–4 (Leipzig 1907), 5–6 (Leipzig 1908). For translation of texts by A. Ungnad (with commentary by M. San Nicolò), see NRV.

⁴ NUVI 3.

⁵ SALONEN, StOr 41, chapter IX (‘Die Textilgewerbe’) was based only on the selected number of the Neo-Babylonian texts.

⁶ Compare the edition of Cyr 289 in NUVI 3, 127 or Cyr 201: 8 (NUVI 3, 118), where Salonen reads 6 4 TÚG.ÍB.LÁ.MEŠ without realising that the text concerns six *ḥušannus* for Šamaš; in both texts the scribe wrote the sign NÍG (read by Salonen as numeral 4) and TÚG in reverse order to the usual TÚG.NÍG.ÍB.LÁ.MEŠ.

⁷ CT 55–57. For transliteration and translation of a few texts, see MATSUSHIMA 1995c and GIOVINAZZO 1981.

⁸ BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 304.

Sippar texts connected with the garments of the gods have been the subject of interest of several scholars. One should give credit to A.L. Oppenheim for drawing attention to the role of special garments during ritual ceremonies and the fact that they were expensive. Many students, among them especially H. Waetzoldt, E. Matsushima and E. Salonen attempted to define in more detail the function of individual garments and the materials of which they were made. An important stage in research was reached when H. Bongenaar published his *Ebabbar* work, which in part deals with studies of individual professional groups involved in the “textile industry.” Bongenaar’s conclusions, though to a certain extent corrected in the present study on the basis of more ample source material, have quite often been the starting point for considerations included in this book. Many new observations can be found in the newly published book by Beaulieu, which includes a lengthy discussion of the Uruk garment texts.⁹

The aims of the present work include the publication of transliterations of unpublished texts stored in the British Museum, and re-publication of texts, the collation of which has led to better reading and thus improved understanding.¹⁰ A lengthy introduction characterises the particular categories of texts and next seeks answers to the following questions: (a) why do we have two kinds of clothing lists for the same gods (*dullu pešû* and *miḥṣu tenû*)?; (b) why do *dullu pešû* lists contain only sets of garments for Šamaš but for other gods only accessories?; (c) what characterised specific garments or fabrics?; what was their weight?; what kinds of material were used; what were their functions?; (d) were the robes for particular gods different, and if so, how was that differentiation achieved and for what purpose? In other words, we investigate whether or not the different cultic functions of particular gods were reflected in their ceremonial clothing. The second important aim of the book, based not only on garment texts but also on the animal offering lists, is the study of the gods worshipped in Sippar, including changes in their positions and the question of royal influence on the cult of particular gods.

⁹ BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*. The clothing ceremonies in Uruk and Babylon are discussed in brief also by LINSSEN 2004, pp. 65–67 and by CHAMAZA, AOAT 295, pp. 202–204.

¹⁰ To be included in Part 2.

II. TYPOLOGY OF TEXTS

1. The classical *dullu pešû* texts

Although the so-called early *dullu pešû* texts (see below) are indeed chronologically earlier, we begin with the classical *dullu pešû* texts because they represent the highest achievement of the temple administration in documenting the issue of materials and the delivery of the garments to the temple wardrobe; an understanding of the structure of the early texts is possible only in the light of the classical texts.

Texts of the later group possess the following basic characteristics:

Introductory formula: *dullu pešû* (BABBAR-*û*) *ša lubuštu ša ūmu.x.kam ša iti.x ša PN*¹¹ and Verb (*nadānu* in Prt./Pft./Stative or Subjunctive) followed by the day, month, year of the king and his title. The introductory formula is separated from the main part of the text by a ruled line. Sometimes the content of the formula is slightly different, i.e. after the name and title of the person responsible for fabrics and garments, the place of delivery is also given, e.g. *a-na É-babbar-ra*.¹² In some texts the gods are specifically named, e.g. *ana lubuštu ša Šamaš u ilāni Sippar*.¹³

Four other *dullu pešû* texts of identical content begin with the following words: *mi-ih-šu dul-lu* BABB[AR^u....] (BM 83973; time of Cyrus), *miḫšu lubuštu* (BM 62543; twenty-second year of Nebuchadnezzar II), *miḫtu lubuštu* (BM 54818+; sixth year of Cyrus) and *mi-ih-šu dul-lu ša lu-bu-uš-tu₄* (BM 61114: 9; cf l. 1: [*dul-lu*] 'pi¹-ši-i 'šā lu²-[*bu-uš-tu₄*]; eighteenth year of Darius). Since the texts are of identical content, it is difficult to tell whether such different formulae were used intentionally or whether they resulted from the scribe's carelessness.¹⁴ Quite significant is the fact that BM 62543, dated to the twenty-second year of Nebuchadnezzar, is more than 30 years earlier than any of the other known texts, which include a new, more detailed method of reporting. Each kind of garment is given a separate "entry" and all the information about the particular garment is contained in one line and separated from the following lines by ruled lines with precisely stated weights. It seems, however, that documents of this

¹¹ However, if parts of garments were given to different people, this information is usually stated at the end of the text, cf. Nbn 726, general responsibility is on Nergal-iddin (l. 1), however, for some part of the garment Nabû-nāšir-apli was responsible, cf. ll. 21–23; Nbn 826, general responsibility: Nabû-nāšir-apli (l. 1), additional responsibility: Bakûa, his slave (l. 13) and Cyr 201, general responsibility: [PN], son of Nabû-ukîn (l. 2), additional responsibility: Bakûa (l. 9 and 18) for garments mentioned in ll. 10–16.

¹² BM 59713 (year 4); BM 59834+ (Nbn 1); BM 62119+ (Nbn 5); BM 62059 (Nbn 9).

¹³ BM 72875 ([Dar] 9); BM 79745 (Dar 10); BM 66924+ (Dar 30).

¹⁴ It is noteworthy that the weight of garments in BM 61114 and BM 54818 is lower than the established norms requested.

type, termed here classical *dullu pešû* lists, in which the weight of each category of garment is precisely stated, were already well-known at least at the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar's reign. This opinion is based on Nabû-bêl-šumāti's texts, dated to Nbk 2–4 and Nbk 13, comprising catalogues of garments identical with the ones which appear in the classical *dullu pešû* texts. In addition, texts characterised by more or less significant irregularities were also written (see sect. 7, "The Mixed *dullu pešû* and *miḥṣu tenû* Texts").

Most of the texts concern garments for Šamaš and other gods of Sippar but a few texts list only clothes for the goddess Anunītu-ša-Sippar-Anunītu.¹⁵ A tiny fragment of one text mentions the goddess Gula, preceded by the name of a god or goddess.¹⁶ Seldom was the introductory formula placed at the end of the text rather than at its beginning; highly exceptionally it is repeated again at the end of the text.¹⁷ Usually classical texts do not give the total amount of all garments mentioned earlier, however, there are a few exceptions.¹⁸

In general, the classical texts are characterised by stereotypical content, i.e. the same weight, quantity, and position of particular garments in the text, although some small inconsistencies can be noted.

Each entry begins with the statement of the weight of the garments or fabric, usually their number (though omissions are quite frequent), and the god's name: x (minas, shekels) *šuqultu* (weight) of [name of garment(s)/fabric(s)] and name of god or goddess.

In principle, such information forms an individual "entry," separated by a dividing line from the next entry concerning a different garment or fabric for the same god or goddess. However, quite often the scribes used dividing lines to separate a set of garments of a specific god, i.e. a few lines make up one specific entry. There are just a few texts without dividing lines, where a specification of a new garment starts in the same line as the previous garment and is continued in the following line.

The main difference between the documents concerns the content of the entries with lists of garments/fabrics for specific gods (see the tables). Hence, the texts contain sets of wool outfits only for the god Šamaš. Sets for other gods contain only selected elements. This fact is of great importance for studies for the organisation of the temple household in Sippar.

As far as their size goes, the classical *dullu pešû* tablets resemble the classical *miḥṣu tenû* tablets (see below), although the disparity between the width and height is usually smaller. The width of the tablets is between six

¹⁵ BM 61762 (Dar 2); BM 83904 (Ach. 5). Concerning the problem of the location of her temple, see BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 231ff. and M. JURSA, *Archiv*, p. 71.

¹⁶ BM 83987 (*dul-lu* BABBAR^{ru} [...] ²*u* ^d*Gu*-[*la*])

¹⁷ BM 65732 (Nbk); Nbn 320.

¹⁸ BM 59834+ (Nbn 1); BM 74324 (Nbk-); BM 72963 (Nbn 1); BM 76771 (Nbn? 11); BM 76468.

and seven centimetres while the height is about five and a half and six and a half centimetres.

Although it is clear that the words *dullu pešû* represent a specific heading for this group of texts, the fact that they have been chosen may raise doubts because the garments mentioned are often made of coloured wool. In order to explain this inconsistency we can compare these texts with others concerning garments destined exclusively for the goddess Anunītu, whose heading is *dullu pešû u tabarru*, thus, fully covering the content of the documents in question. A careful analysis of the content of these *dullu pešû* texts shows that the indication of colour refers to the goddess's garments; however, the texts do not deal with a complete set of garments but only with selected items, of relatively low weight, especially when compared with the weight of the basic items belonging to Šamaš's garments. In the case of the latter, the colour is typically not indicated; if such an indication does appear, we learn that for the manufacture of a major *lubāru* garment a half mina of blue-purple (*takiltu*) wool was used. On a similar basis, consistent lack of indication as to the colour of the second heaviest *šibtu* garment enables us to assume that this item was also made of natural-coloured wool. The same conclusion applies to both items of the garments of the god Bunene; for his *lubāru* six shekels of blue-purple wool were added. If in garment lists of Anunītu the heading *dullu pešû u tabarru* indeed reflects the actual situation, we should thus assume that the heading of the *dullu pešû* lists precisely described the actual state at a certain time. Therefore, I wish to voice the opinion that in the past the prebendary delivered exclusively white garments, or only garments of Šamaš (and possibly of the god Bunene), which were predominantly white. In the course of expanding assignments for the delivery of garments for other gods (probably via the purchase of weaver's prebends of other deities), the heading became more and more outdated, though it did still describe the colour of Šamaš's garments in real terms. That the heading remained unchanged may be due to the fact that the *dullu pešû* lists comprise all the basic items of Šamaš's clothes and only less important items (of lower weight) from among the other deities' garments.

2. The *dullu pešû u tabarru* texts

This specific group includes only four texts (BM 61580, BM 61762, BM 61938 and BM 83904) which differ from other *dullu pešû* texts in that both deal exclusively with garments of the goddess Anunītu. The heading is in full accordance with the content. It is true that mostly white wool was used to manufacture these garments, but the scribe thought it necessary to mention the red wool already in the heading, probably having in mind its high price.

3. The *dullu tabarru u takiltu* texts (or vice versa)

The texts in this group include lists of garments for both gods and goddesses, but they omit the *lubāru* and the *šibtu*. This omission required a change in the heading, which is an indirect indication, as mentioned above, that the natural white colour of both garments was omitted in the lists. In BM 61690, despite the very poor state of preservation of the text, the heading is justified by the fact that Nergal-iddin, the *ēpišānu*, delivered only garments for the goddesses, made mostly of the two kinds of coloured wool and with a small admixture of white wool. This group of texts includes also BM 62626, BM 73185 and Cyr 191. Mention of “work with *tabarru* and *takiltu* wool” appears also in other texts,¹⁹ but from a formal point of view they belong to a different category.

4. Early *dullu pešû* texts

Texts defined here as early *dullu pešû* lists are dated to the reign of Nabopolassar and the first two decades of Nebuchadnezzar. The latest text known to me comes from the twenty-second year of Nebuchadnezzar. In the classical texts, the form is quite fixed and deviations from it are very minor, whereas in the early texts this form is only just taking shape, so similarities as well as differences can be seen. This is the principal difference between the classical texts and the group discussed here. There is no introductory formula, and the dating (day, month, and year) as a rule comes as the last element of the texts. The destination of the listed garments is not specified, but the fact that in the date formulae the same months appear as in the classical texts, allows the presumption that the deliveries were destined for the same six *lubuštu* ceremonies known from BM 91002 and the classical texts. The date of a text allows us to determine the month for which the garments mentioned in the text were assigned. When the date is destroyed, information on the specific number of *hušannus* for Šamaš helps to define the cycle (infra). The delivery of seven pieces of *hušannu* indicates cycle A (months Nisannu, Ajaru, Araḥsamna), while six pieces indicate cycle B (months Ulūlu, Tašrītu, Addaru).²⁰ In most texts the starting point is the indication of weight of the supplied garments, followed by the idiom *dullu gamru* “completed work.”²¹ Contrary to the classical texts, the weight refers not to an individual garment but to some whole, most often to the combined weight of assorted garments for Šamaš, Aya and Bunene (sometimes fabrics for the Queen of Sippar are also included). If the text mentions elements of clothing for other gods, usually the pair Adad and

¹⁹ BM 79793+, rev. col. I 4’–6’ and see below BM 50449, BM 73181 and BM 50392.

²⁰ Cf. below, p. 151.

²¹ Concerning the meaning of this formula, cf. BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 359.

Šala, this information forms a separate entry from an earlier one with the weight of all delivered elements.²² However, the most important point is that the set of garments here does not differ from the set known from the classical texts. The difference lies in the lack of precision of the information given. The conclusion is clear: the temple administration was still working on methods of controlling the issue and return of the garments to the temple wardrobe. As a result, in the classical texts we have no problems with stating the weight and number of supplied garments, while in the early *dullu pešû* such information is usually incomplete and to some extent confusing.²³

The format of the early *dullu pešû* texts is also different from classical *dullu pešû* tablets. Due to the fact that garments for individual gods do not constitute distinct sets, the texts lack dividing lines (contrary to the classical *dullu pešû* texts). Apart from this, the tablets are relatively small in size. Texts are almost always written parallel to the longer side (only two exceptions are known to me): the width is between ca. four centimetres (3.7–3.9) and slightly more than five centimetres (5.1–5.4).²⁴ The tablets' height is small: between 2.3 (rarely) and 3.3–3.8 centimetres (the majority of texts). Almost all the documents in question are a characteristic bright orange in colour; this may suggest that clay was taken from the same place in the entire period under discussion.

5. Classical *miḫšu tenû* texts

The structure of classical *miḫšu tenû* lists is similar to that of classical *dullu pešû* texts. A heading precedes the text proper,²⁵ which, apart from replacing the idiom *dullu pešû* with *miḫšu tenû*, is almost identical with the classical *dullu pešû* text heading. Also the sequence of garments for individual gods is the same, which fully justifies their use in studies of the rank of particular gods in the Sippar pantheon. The set of garments for the ma-

²² 1 *ma-na* 10 GÍN KILAL TÚG.ÚR TÚG.NÍG.ÍB.LÁ.MEŠ šá ^dIM u ^dŠa-la can be fully understood only in the light of the classical lists which show that the *sūnu* weighing 20 shekels was destined for Adad and the remaining 50 shekels comprise 5 *ḫušannus* for Adad and 5 for Šala.

²³ A victim of this ambiguity was E. Salonen, who in NUVI 3 translated TÚG.ĦI.A *šibtu* as “Gewicht von *šibtu*-Gewände,” while the correct translation is “weight of the *lubāru* (and) the *šibtu*.”

²⁴ Only three tablets are longer than 6 cm.

²⁵ A situation in which the information belonging to a heading appears at the end of the texts is extremely rare (BM 61968 (year 40 of (Nbk?)). In several texts the typical formula for a heading (*miḫšu tenû*) was given up; the texts begin directly from the catalogue of garments and end with the dating: BM 68361 (year 32 of [Nbk?]); BM 67633+ (Nbn 7); BM 68144 ([Nbn?]). BM 70252 contains a date at the beginning and again in the final part of the text.

jority of the gods is identical (or almost identical) in all texts, both in kind and in their position in the list. More significant differences relate to garments for Šamaš and the goddess Anunītu, and to some extent also for Šarrat Sippar. In the case of Šamaš the differences stem from the different sets used in cycles A and B. It would be more difficult to explain why certain garments are present in one text and absent in another when these deities are referred to. It seems that these differences cannot be explained by the assignment of the garments to different cycles.

However, a mayor difference between the *miḥṣu tenû* and the *dullu peṣû* groups of texts should be noticed:

- Garments in the *dullu peṣû* texts are weighed, while garments in the *miḥṣu tenû* texts are counted by number.
- The *miḥṣu tenû* texts comprise usually sets of garments not only for Šamaš but also for other most important gods worshipped in Sippar.
- The *miḥṣu tenû* texts were written out in the name of *ašlaku*, while the *dullu peṣû* texts in the name of *išparu*.
- The *dullu peṣû* texts comprise exclusively garments made of wool, while the *miḥṣu tenû* mainly garments made of linen, with some elements made of wool.

As far as their size goes, the *miḥṣu tenû* tablets closely resemble *dullu peṣû* ones, and the text is similarly written parallel to the longer side. Horizontal lines also separate the heading and sets of garments for individual gods. The tablets' width vary but the majority measure slightly more than six centimetres, though quite a number of tablets measure between seven and eight centimetres, and the biggest one's length is 9.3 centimetres. In proportion to the width the height also varies and typically equals about two thirds of the width. Another feature is noteworthy: as with the texts concerning other subjects, *miḥṣu tenû* tablets dated to the time of Darius I (later ones are not known) are bigger and substantially thicker (ca. three centimetres).

6. Early *miḥṣu tenû* texts

Texts of this category are scarce and internally quite varied. The oldest comes from the seventh year of Nabopolassar,²⁶ and two others from the thirteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar.²⁷ In all of them the idiom *miḥṣu tenû* is missing, however, the content shows that they contain the garments known specifically from the classical *miḥṣu tenû* texts. Differences between these texts are quite large, although all lack the characteristic order of classical texts. BM 82581 is an attempt to arrange garments according to their cate-

²⁶ BM 72276 published by STRASSMAIER, ZA 4 (1889) no. 4.

²⁷ CT 4, 38a and BM 82581.

gories (*salḫu* in lines 1–5), but further on the scribe ceases to order the text on the basis of garment type and proceeds to list all garments for a given god.²⁸ In CT 4, 38a, from the thirteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, not only the weight of particular items is given (as is characteristic for classical *dullu pešû* lists), but also the total weight of all items (l. 23) is given (as is typical for early *dullu pešû* lists). An additional difference in the latter text is that the weight is given as the first information in each entry describing the garment for a particular god, i.e. it is recognised as the most important information. Irregularities in bookkeeping can be seen in CT 55, 811 from his twenty-second year, in which in the heading only word *miḫṣu* appears. Comparison of these texts with the so-called “Nabû-bêl-šumâti texts” shows that in the first two decades of Nebuchadnezzar’s reign changes in the organisation of book-keeping took place but were not yet completed. The scarcity of sources from the third and fourth decades of his reign makes it impossible to recognize whether that process was completed already by then or only much later, shortly before the time of Nabonidus.

The early *miḫṣu tenû* texts are usually written parallel with the shorter side.

7. The mixed *dullu pešû* and *miḫṣu tenû* texts

Two texts, BM 51274 and VS 6, 26, written at the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar’s reign (years x+2 and sixth) are atypical because they both include elements of both *dullu pešû* and *miḫṣu tenû* texts. The first two entries in BM 51274 (lines 1–5) concern the garments known from the early *dullu pešû* texts, while lines 6–15 quote the garments known from the classical *miḫṣu tenû* texts.²⁹ In VS 6, 26 lines 1–8 are comparable with the first two entries of BM 51274, with the addition of data concerning *lubāru* and *šibtu* of Bunene (missing in BM 51274, probably because of a scribal error). From line 9 to line 24 in VS 6, 26 the content is typical for the *miḫṣu tenû* texts and is comparable with BM 51274: 6–15. The only important difference between both texts is that in VS 6, 26 the total weight of garments is given in each entry, while in BM 51274 the quantities are given only in respect to items for Šamaš (lines 1–3 and 6–8) and Adad (lines 4–5). Both texts, in which responsibility is on Nabû-bêl-šumâti, are exceptional, be-

²⁸ Lines 10–12 contain probably the list of garments of Aya (though her name is missing), lines 14–16 of Bunene, and lines 17–19 of *mārât Ebabbar*. The destination of *ša dullu/a* garments is not clear; old (*labīru*) *muttatu* may have belonged to Šamaš, which means that information concerning individual garments for this deity was scattered. A slightly better order can be seen in BM 72276.

²⁹ The elements of both type of texts appears also in BM 79793+, an *ēpeš nikkassi* text comprising the settlement concerning the materials and the final products made in the seventh and eighth year of Nabonidus.

cause in all other texts the items from *dullu pešû* and *miḥṣu tenû* lists are written on separate tablets. The texts suggest that at least in these years Nabû-bêl-šumâti was responsible for the issuing of both types of garments, usually kept separate in the relevant records.

8. The *dullu pešû* and *miḥṣu tenû* – Who wrote these texts?

Both of these types of texts belong to the group of administrative documents and according to the long-standing practice neither the name of the scribe who wrote the text nor his seal (if indeed he had one; probably not) is given. Although it is not possible to identify the name of the scribe or scribes who wrote these texts, some facts can be established.

As already indicated, except for two texts (BM 61517 and Cyr 232), where *dullu pešû* lists are written on the obverse and *miḥṣu tenû* on the reverse, and BM 68348+, where both lists are written in the reverse sequence, other *dullu pešû* and *miḥṣu tenû* lists are written on separate tablets. The question is whether a different scribe wrote each type of text, or one scribe wrote both of them. Three of the above-mentioned texts, in which both types of lists are written on one tablet, speak for the first possibility. Especially significant is BM 61517, where the *dullu pešû* list is written almost without error (except for a few erased signs in line 4), while the mistakes in the *miḥṣu tenû* are numerous. The end of line 15 was repeated at the beginning of line 16; in line 17 the first partly erased sign, similar to *ši*, is followed with *ʾhu¹-hi* which makes no sense; in line 19 *salhu* for Aya is missing; in line 20 the determinative before DUMU and the sign MI are missing; in line 23 the name of Anunîtu is erased, but still legible. This observation suggests that the scribe who wrote this particular text had good experience with the *dullu pešû* texts, but not with the *miḥṣu tenû* lists. The best explanation for this situation is that at an earlier time the scribe of BM 61517 wrote only *dullu pešû* texts while the *miḥṣu tenû* were written by a different person. The three texts discussed here, in which both *dullu pešû* and *miḥṣu tenû* lists were written by one scribe, are exceptional.

Although no scribal name is given, careful observation of the writing of particular signs makes it possible at least to suggest which texts were written by one scribe. It should be noted that in a group of *dullu pešû* tablets mostly dated between the end of Nabonidus and the time Cambyses the term *patinnu* is usually written ideographically, i.e. TÚG.MURUB₄.ÍB.LÁ, while before this period it is mostly written syllabically, i.e. *pa-tin-nu*. This might suggest a change in the scribe who was responsible for the preparation of these tablets.

9. The texts with the word *šaḥ(h)û* in the heading formula

In the heading of five texts the word *ša-ḥu-û* appears, whose meaning is not precisely established. One proposal recognised it as an adjective with the meaning “dirty” (CAD H (1956) 229 and CAD K (1971) 475; Waetzoldt, 1980–83c, 591). Others (AHw 1131 b and CAD Š/I (1989) 96) read the word as *šaḥḥu* and gave it the meaning “Leinentuch” or “canvas, cloth.”³⁰ Salonen (NUVI 3) is not consistent: in Nbk 312 (NUVI 3, 9) he translates “*šaḥḥû*-Leinentuch”, i.e. in accordance with AHw, while in Cam 312 (NUVI 3, 158) “schmutzige Gewebe”, i.e. in accordance with the first meaning described above.³¹

It is interesting to note the contexts in which the word *šaḥḥu* appears:

- Cam 312 *miḥṣu šaḥ(h)û* (list of garments parallel with the *dullu peṣû* texts, including woollen items)
- Nbk 312 GADA.MEŠ *šaḥ(h)û* (list of garments typical for the so called “*tabû* texts” including linen items (see below))
- BM 64657 *dullu peṣû šaḥ(h)û ša lubuštu* (list of garments typical for the *dullu peṣû* texts including woollen items)
- BM 61938 *miḥṣu šaḥ(h)û ša Anunītu* (the context is parallel to the *dullu peṣû u tabarru* text including the list of woollen garments for Anunītu)
- BM 73276 [*miḥṣu*] *šaḥ(h)û ša lubuštu* (only a fragment of one line following the heading is preserved, however, it suggests that the text included a list of garments typical for the *dullu peṣû* texts)

As we see, the word was used to describe linen as well as woollen garments, i.e. the translation in AHw and CDA 347 (“a *linen* canvas cloth”), which restricts its meaning to linen fabrics, is in fact inadequate. The meaning “worn” seems to be excluded in Nbk 312 because both new (*eššu*) and worn (*labīru*) are given (back?) to Šillaya (not Šulā, coll.) only a day before the ceremony. The fact that in BM 64657 the word *šaḥ(h)u* is preceded by the word *peṣû* does not help in establishing the first word, because – as was suggested earlier – the adjective *peṣû* describes the colour of the garments and the sometimes suggested translation “clean”³² would be inadequate. However, in all the texts the general translation “cloth” gives good sense. We have to be content with such a general meaning until new texts giving a better context are found and published.

³⁰ Cf. also WAETZOLDT 1972, p. 157, according to whom the term ša-ḥa (= *šaḥû*) designates “Stoffe (...), die für Walk- und Waschbehandlung vorbereitet sind, d. h. sie dürfen verputzt und eventuell zusammengeñäht und mit Borten versehen sein.”

³¹ Cf. also SALONEN, StOr 41, pp. 290–291 (“schmutzige Wäsche”) and p. 295 (“schmutzige Gewänder”).

³² SALONEN 1972, p. 26, where *dullu peṣû* is translated “saubere Kleidung.”

10. Texts concerning the fabrics *ana tabê*

After the *dullu pešû* and *miḥṣu tenû*, this is the third most important group of texts concerned with garments for the gods. The destination of the garments is described in the heading with the word *ana tabê*, “for procession.” Here belong the texts Nbn 694, Nbn 696, Cyr 185, Cam 148 and CT 55, 814, and two texts known to Bongenaar from unpublished Strassmaier copies (BM 60307 = Str II 337/4 and BM 75848 = Str II 176/3). We now have to add also CT 55, 813 and Nbk 312 and at least ten unpublished texts, although only in two of them (BM 62628 and BM 83659) is the formula *ana tabê* preserved. It seems probable that a few texts with the heading GADA *ša Šamaš u ilāni ša Sippar* should be recognised as a sub-group of the *tabû* texts (see below).

The heading is followed by precise data concerning specific types of garments or fabrics for the particular gods or goddesses; sometimes the function of the fabric is also described. All the information concerning fabrics for a particular god is usually placed in one line, more rarely in two consecutive lines.

Because the texts of this group exclusively concern linen fabrics, it seems reasonable to compare them with the *miḥṣu tenû* texts, which also include mainly linen items. The differences between these text groups concern content as well composition.

1. In the *tabû* texts only three types of fabrics appear: the *ḥullānu*, the *salḫu*, and the *kibsu*.

2. Aside from the *ḥullānu* the two other fabrics are given not only to the main gods of the Sippar pantheon (the normal practice in the *miḥṣu tenû* texts), but probably to all gods and deified objects worshipped in the city.

3. The arrangement criterion used by the composers of the *tabû* texts is by type of fabric, i.e. first the *ḥullānu*, next the new *salḫu* and used *salḫu*, and lastly the *kibsu* fabrics, first new (*eššu*), and then worn (*labīru*). The *ḥullānu* garment is issued almost exclusively for Šamaš and, more rarely, for Bunene. The second type of garment is issued regularly for Šamaš and Aya and occasionally for Gula, Šarrat Sippar, *mārāt Ebabbar* and Bunene and *ana talukātu*³³ of Šamaš or Adad. Only three gods, namely Šamaš, Aya, and the mysterious Immertu, receive *salḫu labīru*. The *kibsu*, the third type of garment, is never issued to Šamaš and Aya, which reflects their highest positions in the pantheon. The new *kibsu* is given exclusively to the most important gods of the Sippar pantheon, i.e. regularly for Bunene and

³³ The *talukātu*, for which usually three, one time five *salḫus* were issued, is probably a plural form of *taluku*. Scholars suggest translating the word as “processions”, but because the garments in the *tabû* lists were usually issued for one particular ceremony (mostly the *lubuštu* ceremony) such a translation makes no sense. It seems to me that in comparison with the function of other garments in such texts, it is more preferable to see in *taluku* a type of implement covered with *salḫu* garments.

Šarrat Sippar and more rarely also for the *mārāt Ebabbar*, Anunītu, and Gula. The garment was also issued exceptionally for Nin-ŠA and the deified *ziqqurat*. In addition to new *kibsu*, Bunene, Šarrat Sippar, Anunītu and Gula and the deified *ziqqurat* (appearing mostly in this sequence) received also the worn *kibsu*; additionally the worn *kibsu* was given also to the *bīt* Marduk (or Marduk and Bēltija,³⁴ or Marduk and Šarpanītu) and at the end for Adad and Šala. This latter couple, although their cult in Sippar was well established, gave ground to the deified *ziqqurat* and the “imported” cult of Marduk and Šarpanītu. Some types of garment, i.e. *salḫu ana kibsu*, “*salḫu* (used) as *kibsu*” was given exclusively for Šamaš, while a new “open (*petū*) *kibsu*” was issued only to Bunene and Šarrat Sippar, and one time to Aya as the cover for her altar or symbol (*šubtu*). Undoubtedly not only the statue but also the equipment of less important gods was modestly decorated, in comparison with those of the “first gods” worshipped in the city of Sippar.

4. The heading informs us that the fabrics were prepared *ana tabē*, “for procession.” It seems that the procession connected with the *lubuštu* ceremony is meant. Such a possibility is suggested by CT 55, 814, where Šamaš-zēr-ušabši, the well-known washerman (*ašlāku*), received fabrics on the 8th Ayaru, i.e. two days before the *lubuštu* ceremony, *ana zikūtu*, “for cleaning.” There are, however, serious doubts as to whether these items were destined for the first day of the festival.³⁵ These doubts are based on the fragmentary *tabū* text, CT 55, 813, where in the heading the day 11[+x] of Nisannu, is preserved. According to BM 83659, written on the 8th Ayaru, the items should be issued *ana tabē ša Šamaš ša UD.11[+x.KĀM]* (l. 1). In both cases the date falls few days or at least one day after the *lubuštu* ceremony (7th Nisannu and 10th Ayaru, respectively). Both texts suggest that the *tabū* procession was connected with the *lubuštu* ceremony, however, it took place later, probably at the end of the festival. The *tabū* procession of ^{dr}Ša¹-[la] mentioned in BM 63503+: 20’, is preceded (l. 19’) and followed (l. 21’) with the *tabū* of two other goddesses, whose names are, however, damaged. Because the information about the destination of garments for the *tabū* procession was included in the destroyed heading (but the existence of the heading is beyond any doubt), the mention of the *tabū* of Šala and two other goddesses is a redundant repetition. Thus, this repetition suggests that separate processions of individual deities took place apart from the *tabū* procession in which all the deities participated.³⁶ The same text in l. 5’ mentions the *sūnu* of Šamaš UD.11.KĀM, probably

³⁴ Concerning the name, known also from Uruk, see ZIMMERN 1926.

³⁵ Such a suggestion was made by BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 309, n. 288, who restored the broken day in Nbn 694: 1 with [UD.10?KĀM] of the month Ayaru.

³⁶ Now supported by BM 101392, rev. 7, mentioning *tabē ša Anunītu* on the 9th day of Tašritu, for which suckling heifer(s) were offered; in obv. 2’ mentions *tabē <šā>* ^{dr}GAŠAN Sip¹-par^{ki}.

for the *tabû* procession of this god. Taking into consideration that it is most improbable that two processions took place on one and the same day, we should assume that these processions were part of a longer ceremony, probably lasting for a few days; this hypothesis again suggests their connection with the *lubuštu* ceremony.

An interesting situation occurs with Nbn 694 and Nbn 696, because both are composed in the month of Ayaru, thirteenth year of Nabonidus, on the 5th and on the 9th days, respectively. Although in the first one the name of the person responsible for preparing the fabrics for the ceremony is broken, it is unlikely that different persons were engaged. It seems that despite small differences between the texts, the first one includes the list of items given for cleaning or mending while the second one concerns the return of these items after the weaver had completed the job. The differences between the texts can be explained by differences in the method of counting, by abbreviation (which occurs quite often in the texts of this group) and probably also by the exchange of a few old garments for new or less worn ones.

Comparison of both texts reveals many parallels but makes it possible to grasp some differences:

Nbn 694:	Parallel line Nbn 696
(4) 1 GADA <i>hullānu eššu <ana> Šamaš</i>	(5)
(4) 2 GADA <i>salḫi eššu ana Šamaš</i>	(5)
(5) 2 GADA <i>salḫi eššu ana Aya</i>	(6)
(6) 3 GADA <i>salḫi eššu ana talukātu</i>	(7)
(7) 1 <i>kibsu eššu BAD-ma ana šubtu ša Aya</i>	(8)
(8) 1 GADA <i>salḫu eššu ana GADA kibsu ana Šamaš</i>	(9)
(9) 1 GADA <i>salḫu SUMUN ana [taḥapšu] ana Šamaš</i>	(10)
(10) 1 GADA <i>salḫu [SUMUN] ana <taḥapšu> ana Aya</i>	
	(11; missing in Strassmaier's copy)
(11) 1 GADA <i>salḫu [SUMUN ana] taḥapšu ana Immertu</i>	(12)
(12) 1 GADA <i>kibsu SUMUN ana taḥapšu ana Bunene</i>	(13)
(13) 1 GADA <i>kibsu SUMUN ana taḥapšu ana Šarrat Sippar</i>	(14–15)
(14) 1 GADA <i>kibsu SUMUN ana taḥapšu ana Anunītu</i>	(16–17)
(15) 1 GADA <i>kibsu SUMUN ana taḥapšu ana Gula</i>	(18)
(16) 1 GADA <i>kibsu eššu BAD ana Bunene</i>	(19)
(17) 1 GADA <i>kibsu eššu BAD ana Šarrat</i>	
	(20–21: 1 <i>kibsu eššu e-lat 1^{en} ina IGI lū-TU.É</i>)
(18) 1 GADA <i>kibsu SUMUN ana UGU šubtu ša Anunītu</i>	
	(22: <i>ša Anunītu ina IGI lū-TU.É</i>)
(19) 1 GADA <i>kibsu SUMUN ana Gula</i>	(23)
(20) 1 GADA <i>kibsu SUMUN ana ziqquratu</i>	(24)
(21) 1 GADA <i>kibsu SUMUN ana É^d AMAR.UTU</i>	
	(25: <i>É^d AMAR!.UTU!)</i>)

- (22) 1 GADA *kibsu* SUMUN *ana Adad* (26)
 (23) 1 GADA *kibsu* SUMUN *ana Šala* (27)
 (24) PAP 23 GADA.MEŠ *ina lib-bi* 7 GADA *eššu*
 (28–29: 7 GADA *sal-ḫi* 13 (!) *kib-su*)
 (25) 16 GADA SUMUN ...

The comparison of seven GADA *eššu* with seven GADA *sal-ḫi* makes it clear that in both texts the same seven GADA *sal-ḫi eššu* were meant, although in each text in fact eight new *sal-ḫi eššu* appear. Most probably one new *salḫu* to be used as a *kibsu* of Šamaš was not included in the total of new *salḫus* mentioned in the total in both texts. Moreover, the item was neither included in the total of twenty-three GADA.MEŠ nor in sixteen GADA SUMUN because in lines 7–23 altogether seventeen items are mentioned. The sub-total sixteen GADA is also incorrect, because in fact only thirteen worn (*labīri*) are mentioned in the text. The sum sixteen GADA includes thirteen worn items, among them ten *kibsu*, three worn *salḫu* and three new *kibsu*; one new *ḫullānu* and one new *salḫu* used as *kibsu* of Šamaš are not included here. This means that in Nbn 696: 28 the sub-total of thirteen *kibsu* is not a mistake; the scribe counted there only the used (*labīri*) items. Again, the situation is not clear because only eleven used items are mentioned. The comparison of Nbn 694: 18 with Nbn 696: 22 suggests that the one item from l. 22 is also counted. Similarly to Nbn 694 also here the total does not include three new *kibsu* (l. 8, 18–19), one new *salḫu* used as a *kibsu* of Šamaš (l. 9) and one new *ḫullānu* for Šamaš (l. 5). Probably the last part of both texts following the total is at least to some degree parallel, but an explanation is hardly possible. Maybe 5 GADA.MEŠ *te-nu-ú ku-ú* GADA *eš-šu* Nbn 694: 27) is parallel to 1 ÚR *pu-uš-ku* 5 *kib-su* (Nbn 696: 33). Nbn 696 informs us additionally that some items were in the possession of different persons: *ērib bīti* (l. 20 and 22), or Bunene-šimanni, the mender.³⁷ In general, the accounting was carried out rather carelessly and without parallel texts our understanding of what the scribe meant in particular lines is limited and sometimes hardly possible.

The most important question is why the items from the *tabû* texts were not included in the *miḫsu tenû* lists. It seems to me that the chief reason lies in the *function* of the items of clothing. From time to time the exact destination of the items is precisely stated:

salḫu

- 3 GADA *salḫu eššu ana talukātu* (Nbn 694: 6; Nbn 696: 7)
 '3'1 [GADA *sal-ḫu a-na ta-lu-ka-a-ta a-na* ^dUTU] (Cam 148: 7, coll.)

³⁷ BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 325f.

5 GADA *sal-ḥu a-na ta-lu-ka-a-ta a-na* ^dIM¹ (Cam 148, rev. 2', coll.)
salḥu eššu ana kitê šamê of Šamaš (BM 66166, rev. 11'–12', and of
 other god in ll. 13'–14');
 (new *salḥu*) *ša muḥḥi šubtu* of Šamaš and Aya (CT 55, 814: 4, 6)
salḥu labīri ana taḥapšu of Šamaš, Immertu, Bunene (Nbn 694, 696, CT
 55, 814 and in other texts of the *tabû* group)

kibsu

kibsu eššu petû(BAD)-*ma ana šubtu* of Aya (Nbn 694: 7; Nbn 696: 8; BM
 60307: 6)
kibsu labīri ana šubtu of Šamaš (CT 55, 814: 4), Anunītu (Nbn 694: 18),
 Marduk (BM 101873, rev. 3'), the deified *Ziqqurat* (BM 63503+: 17')
kibsu labīri ana taḥapšu of Šamaš, Immertu, Bunene, Šarrat Sippar,
 Anunītu, Gula, Šala, *bīt* Marduk (Nbn 694, Nbn 696, CT 55, 814 and
 in many other texts of the *tabû* group)

The examples where the functions of the items are described in greater detail suggest that while the garments from the *miḥṣu tenû* lists were used for dressing the statue of a god or goddess, the items from the *tabû* lists were destined for covering the different cultic objects (some deified) used during the *tabû* procession. While the responsibility for the garments for statues was on the prebendary weaver, the manufacturing of fabrics used in the temple rooms or for covering cultic objects during public processions was down to different groups, organised on a different basis; however, as is reflected in the *tabû* texts, final responsibility was with the prebendary *ašlāku*.

11. The *kitû ša Šamaš u ilāni Sippar* texts

The starting point for distinguishing this group is purely formal, i.e. the heading of the texts. Out of four texts with similar but not identical formulae, three are dated to the reign of Darius I. The earliest text (Nbn 848), dated to the fifteenth year of Nabonidus, suggests that the formula was invented not later than the final years of Nabonidus and that it was used more frequently at the time of Darius. As all three texts dated to the time of Darius were composed in the month of Ayaru, shortly before the *lubuštu* ceremony, their connection with this ceremony seems certain; the fourth one also concerns linen garments for the same month. However, the lists did not contain a set of garments but only selected elements, mostly the *salḥu* and the *kibsu*. The heading of BM 77968 differs from the other two texts, namely the expected *ana lubuštu* is replaced by *ana* ¹*tabê*¹ with the principal section containing, like BM 73244, lists of *salḥu* and *kibsu*. In the last case the scribe, instead of stressing that the fabrics are made of linen, decided to indicate their destination, i.e. for the *tabû* procession. Typologi-

cally these texts seem to belong to the same category as the *tabû* texts described above.

It seems that at least some other texts, in which the word *tabû* is absent, also belong to this category. In Nbn 143, dated to the 6th Ayaru, again a few days before the *lubuštu* ceremony, twenty-one linen garments were issued to [Šamaš-zēr]-[ušabši]¹, the *ašlāku*. The quantity and quality of garments (one new *hullānu*, two new *salḫus*, nine old *salḫus* and nine new *kibsus*) resemble exactly the garments from *tabû* texts. In contrast to the classical *tabû* texts, the listing here is limited to collective enumeration of individual categories of garments, without detailed indication of purpose or the individual deity for whom they were destined. Similar to Nbn 143 is Nbn 137, itemising twenty linen garments for the month of Ayaru which had been given back to the *bīt qāti ša bābi* storehouse. Here too the counting of identical garments in the same order (one new *hullānu*, one new *salḫu*, eleven “open” *salḫus* and seven new *kibsus*) suggests that the items were used during the *tabû* procession and were given back a few days later, when the New Year *akītu* festival was finished. A similar list occurs in BM 60579 (one linen *hullānu*, five linen *kibsus* and six linen *salḫus*). The *lubuštu* ceremony and *tabû* ceremonies were most probably a part of this festival. It is possible that also Nbn 115, a list of linen garments issued for repair (*ana batqa*) to Arrabi, the mender, and Ardiya, the washerman, on the 1st day of Tašrītu, were destined for the *tabû* procession connected closely with the *lubuštu* ceremony of the 7th day of Tašrītu. The list is less detailed than classical *tabû* lists, but it concerns the same three garment types (*hullānu*, *salḫu*, and *kibsu*) known from classical *tabû* texts.³⁸

12. Texts of Nabû-bēl-šumāti

Among the texts in which Nabû-bēl-šumāti is a central figure, one can isolate a group of dozen or so texts of characteristic content and external form. Generally, both obverse and the reverse have two columns each, but one-column texts of similar content are also known. The difference results from the fact that one-column texts contain a settlement of accounts over a short period, possibly one month, while two-column texts relate to a longer period, possibly one year. This is suggested by BM 51099 dated to [Nbk] 2, BM 51447 and BM 50066 to [Nbk] 3, and BM 50745 to [Nbk] 4. Despite the fact that the texts are only fragmentary, in BM 51099 the report was made in the months of Nisannu and Addaru, in BM 51447 in Nisannu, Šabaṭu and Addaru, and in BM 50745 in Nisannu, Tašrītu, Araḫsamna, Šabaṭu and Addaru. BM 53364 concerns such a settlement of accounts for

³⁸ Only the number of 8 “open” *hullānus* is too high in comparison to the number of the *hullānus* in the classical *tabû* texts (usually one for Šamaš and sometimes one for Bunene).

the month of Simānu. Thus, we may conclude that reports were typically made in the months in which garments were delivered for the *lubuštu* ceremony, but sometimes also in months without a *lubuštu* ceremony.

Some factors, such as the use of designation *bīt ili* “temple” instead of Ebabbar, or the emphasis that garments are delivered *ša la ḥāṭu* (an expression known exclusively from the early texts), enable their dating to the reign of Nabopolassar and the first half of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar.³⁹ The years 2, 3 and 4 – preserved in the three texts mentioned above – can without any doubt be identified with Nebuchadnezzar’s second, third and fourth years.

Since the beginnings of all the texts are not preserved, one can only attempt to reconstruct the structure of the documents in question by comparison. This will help to underline the regularities discernible in these texts. Typically, the structure of the contents is as follows:

- I. Information about the recovery of blue-purple wool from the *lubāru*-garment of Šamaš and Bunene:
“half a mina of blue-purple wool from the *lubāru*-garment of Šamaš (and) 6 (or 5) shekels of blue-purple wool from the *lubāru* of Bunene was removed.”
- II. The delivery of some elements of garments:
for Bunene: one *sūnu*, five *ḥuṣannus*, one or two *paršīgu*(s), usually denoted as white;
for *mārāt Ebabbar*: eight *ḥuṣannus* (in one text only five) and in one another text two *kusītus* and 2 *naḥlaptus*.
The delivery is accompanied by a note:
Nabû-bêl-šumāti ša la ḥāṭu (elat) ana bīt ili inamdin,
“Nabû-bêl-šumāti, whom no (additional) supply (is given) except for that which he delivers to the temple.”
- IIa. The typical *dullu pešû* list with the complete set of garments (weight and quantity of garments given) for Šamaš and only some garment elements for Aya, Bunene, Adad and Šala.
- IIb. In BM 50745 rev. I 9–13 and in BM 50938 there is an additional entry (in both badly preserved) including the delivery of clothes for Šarrat Sippar: *lubār ... x paršīgu*-bands, and also maybe for her (however enumerated under the goddess’ name) one *sūnu* and *x ḥuṣannu*(s).
- IV. Summing up:
PAP x ma-na x šiḡil dullu gamru Nabû-bêl-šumāti ana bīt ili ittadin
“Together, x minas x shekels, the completed work, Nabû-bêl-šumāti has delivered to the temple.”

³⁹ The latest text is dated to the fourteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar.

It is clear from the texts that Nabû-bêl-šumāti – as the person in charge for the supply of garments and as the holder of a weaver’s prebend – was responsible for regular deliveries of garments for Šamaš. It is noteworthy that in the summing up only deliveries included under section III are mentioned. They comprise the complete set of clothing for Šamaš and the main elements of clothing for Bunene (*lubāru* and *šibtu*), but only the less important elements for Aya and Šarrat Sippar (*ḥuṣannu*) and for Adad and Šala (typically one *sūnu* and five *ḥuṣannus* for each of the divine spouses). These positions are identical with those in the classical *dullu pešû* lists as well as in most of the early lists of this type. The texts seem to emphasize the difference between the sections III and II. This is shown both by the use of different grammatical forms (praeterite in section III and durative in section II) as well as by the emphasising that Nabû-bêl-šumāti delivers *sūnu*, *ḥuṣannus* and *paršīgu* for Bunene and *ḥuṣannus* for *mārāt Ebabbar* “without supply” (*ša la ḥāṭu*);⁴⁰ moreover, these garments are not weighed but counted. This probably means that the obligations of Nabû-bêl-šumāti to Šamaš and the other gods and/or goddesses had a different basis and were differently regulated. It is certain that the obligation to Šamaš resulted from the possession of the weaver’s prebend of Šamaš, i.e. from the temple he received wool both for the manufacturing of garments (*sattukku*) and as his payment (prebendary income). Delivery of garments for Bunene and *mārāt Ebabbar* by Nabû-bêl-šumāti “without supply” (*ša la ḥāṭu*) suggests that these obligations did not result from the ownership of a weaver’s prebend but rather that he received raw material as well as the payment after completion of the duty. One has to assume that Nabû-bêl-šumāti’s obligation to Bunene and the Daughters of Ebabbar was indeed of a more permanent nature and lasted for at least a couple of years.⁴¹ It seems that the temple administration acted quite reasonably – a frequent change of a person in charge of the garments would probably require extra involvement by the temple administration. A well-known and experienced weaver such as Nabû-bêl-šumāti could be trusted, and there was simply no reason to replace him. However, the fact that the garments delivered for Bunene and the Daughters of Ebabbar are counted (not weighed) suggests that the exact information was included in separate documents which remain unknown.

Section I includes new and interesting information. If we understand the text correctly, Nabû-bêl-šumāti recovered the blue-purple wool from the worn-out *lubāru* clothes in exactly the same quantity which was previously used for their manufacture. If this is true, it seems absolutely unlikely that

⁴⁰ Also from VS 6, 28 (5.1.Nbk 8) we know that Nabû-bêl-šumāti was responsible for the delivery of one *sūnu* and *ḥuṣannus* for *mārāt Ebabbar* and *Bunene* [ša] ⁶[/I]a ḥa-a-tu]. Cf. also CT 4, 38a (9.2.Nbk 13): ²⁹tūg par-ši-gu^{meš} SÍG.HÉ.MÉ.[DA] ³⁰ša ^dDUMU. MÍ.MEŠ É-babbar-ra ³¹md AG-EN-MU.MEŠ ša la [ḥa-a-tu] ³²i-nam-din.

⁴¹ Texts with this particular phrase known to date cover the period between [Nbk] 2 and Nbk 14 (BM 50179).

the wool was interwoven or that it made a border/rim of fabric because in such a case it might have been easily damaged. As a consequence, it seems most likely that the coloured wool was used for a garment or cloth not exposed to wear, placed in a central and readily visible part of the garment.

In the above texts another question is raised, namely the weight of individual garments, sometimes considerably different from the usual standard known from the classical *dullu pešû* texts. Only the weight of the *lubāru* of Šamaš is always in agreement with that established at the time of Nabû-apal-iddina, i.e. twenty minas. The *šibtu* weight was generally lower and amounted to seven (BM 50745, rev. I 4'; II 15') or eight (BM 51563 col. II 2'; BM 51659 II 10') minas. Even greater variation concern the *lubār mē qaqqadi*, though in this case we can calculate the sum only indirectly, because the texts typically give the total weight of enumerated garments. Since the weight of other garments is almost always the same, one can calculate the weight of the *lubār mē qaqqadi*. Accordingly, BM 50745 rev. col. II 16'–18' mentions the *lubār mē qaqqadi*, four *sūnus*, six *hušannus* of Šamaš and ten *hušannus* of Aya, weighing five minas thirty shekels. From this, by subtracting the weight of four *sūnus* (one mina twenty shekels) and sixteen *hušannus* (two minas), we reach the *lubār mē qaqqadi* weight of two minas and ten shekels. According to rev. I 5'–8' of the same text the weight would be, respectively, one mina forty shekels (five minas minus one mina twenty shekels (four *sūnus*) and minus two minas (the weight of the *hušannus* of Šamaš and Aya) and one mina fifty shekels according to BM 51099 obv I 4'–6' ([five] minas ten shekels minus one mina twenty shekels (four *sūnus*) and minus two minas (the weight of the *hušannus* of Šamaš and Aya)).

Also the weight of the *lubāru* and the *šibtu* of Bunene vary, but the exact weight of each clothing is unknown because the total weight of both items is given in these documents:

BM 50626: 6	2 minas 10 shekels
BM 51099 obv. I 7'	3 minas 24 shekels
BM 50745 rev. I 9'	2 minas
rev. II 19'	2 minas 30 shekels

The garments mentioned in section III weigh typically between 36 and 38 minas, of which almost 80 percent derives from the garments of the god Šamaš.

13. The *iškaru* documents

The term *iškaru* means “labour assignment” for representatives of various professional groups performing jobs ordered by the temple. Within the “textile industry” all the *iškaru* contracts were made by the *išpar*

kitê/pūšāya, i.e. by non-prebendary weavers. On the basis of certain texts it can be concluded that the *iškaru* assignments were valid for at least a yearly period (Cyr 326, BM 61025, BM 84054), possibly even longer, lasting for a few years (Peek, no. 2, Nbn 163, where it is clear that the contract was made for five years).

The *iškaru* documents were made, not with individual craftsmen, but with organised teams having their own supervisors. As Bongenaar already noted, the obligations of particular craftsmen were limited to the delivery of one or two pieces of sacred garments per year.⁴² Such an assignment within a whole year leaves no doubt that the *iškaru* cannot entail all the obligations of this non-prebendary group of craftsmen. This conclusion is convincing also because the same weavers appear many times in other documents where they receive rations (*kurummatu*). It thus seems that *iškaru* documents – at least with respect to this professional group – regulated additional obligations, over and above their regular duties. It is probable that the temple administration demanded – perhaps in return for extra pay – the manufacture of the garments which it needed in larger numbers or the garments which could not been made in a regular long-established pattern by other craftsmen of the team. BM 84054 shows that such contracts might have dealt not only with the manufacture of garments, but also with their cleaning. Owing to the fact that a group of prebendaries occupied themselves with the production of wool garments, there is a lack of *iškaru* contracts involving the prebendaries. The prebendaries unable to meet their duties fully solved the problem by employing substitutes, i.e. “performers” (*ēpišānu*).

14. Texts from Uruk concerning the garments of the gods

Though this work is devoted to the garments of the gods of Sippar, for comparative purposes some texts from Uruk are also taken into consideration, though without attempting to examine the subject fully.⁴³

On the whole, among the Uruk texts one can distinguish documents about the wool issues to individual weavers and the delivery of garments to the temple. The latter group is of particular interest here because it enables us to compare garments of the Sippar gods with those of the gods of Uruk. One can immediately notice differences between the two groups in their terminology, and the circumstances in which the documents originated. The Uruk texts do not contain documents which would be at least partly equivalent to the Sippar “classical and early *miḥṣu tenû* texts.” But texts

⁴² BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 307 and p. 360.

⁴³ The section concerning the data from Uruk was written before the recent book of Beaulieu was published. Since the observations made by Beaulieu only rarely concern the opinions presented here, I left this section almost unchanged.

such as YOS 7, 183, YOS 17, 301 and YOS 19, 270 and 271 closely resemble the Sippar “classical *dullu pešû* texts,” since both deal with basic wool garments destined for the forthcoming ceremony. The Uruk texts lack the headings typical of Sippar documents, though the phrase *dullu pešû* in Sippar has the equivalent phrase *miḥṣu pešû* in Uruk. In Uruk texts of standard form a blank space was left when the colour of one garment is the same as the preceding, under the word where in the previous line colour is indicated.

A more significant difference lies in the origin of the texts. Texts from Sippar almost without exception belong to the categories of garment issues, be it for repair or cleaning, to the weavers who must return the garment to the temple shortly before the *lubuštu* ceremony (after the garments have been prepared for the ceremony). Only a few texts concern the issue of newly prepared garments, while the Uruk texts on the whole belong to this latter category. This conclusion rests basically on the final section of the Uruk texts. A list of garments for individual gods is followed by a list of white yarn (*īmu*), blue-purple (*takiltu*), red made of *ḥaṭhuru*-dye (*tabarru ša* LAGAB), red made of *inzaḥurētu*-dye (*tabarru ša inzaḥurētu*), red and blue-purple *guḥalšētu* (*tabarru* and *guḥalšētu takiltu*), not connected with the above-mentioned deities. Both this fact and the small quantities of *īmu* and *guḥalšētu* indicate that what is meant here is the return of unused material left over from the process of weaving the sacred garments by the weavers mentioned in the text. Probably of similar nature is GC 2, 108 which concerns the manufacture of a *sūnu* for Dumuzi, followed by a list of small quantities of white (three shekels) yarn, the red made of *ḥaṭhuru*-dye (*tabari ša* LAGAB) (three shekels) and blue-purple yarn (two shekels). In the Sippar texts the lack of data concerning the return of yarn in the *dullu pešû* suggests that – contrary to the practice in Uruk – they do not refer to the production of new garments but rather, as has been said above, to the preparation of old garments for the forthcoming ceremony. One example of the handing back of unused material in Sippar can be found in BM 60135, where Šulā, the weaver returns to the temple 7.5 shekel of *īmu*.

III. MATERIALS FOR THE MANUFACTURE OF THE GARMENTS OF THE GODS

1. The raw materials

In the abundant corpus of texts referring to the manufacturing of garments we find ample evidence that garments, whether used for cultic purposes or not, were primarily made of sheep wool (*šipātu*). Goat wool (SÍG.ÛZ = *šipāt enzi*) was also used on a marginal scale, although so far it has not been demonstrated that it was used in the making of the sacred garments.⁴⁴ The second most important material was linen (*kitû*). Although flax had been planted in Mesopotamia since the end of the fourth millennium B.C.⁴⁵ the texts show that it was a crop of limited importance, and that while linen was a significant material for the manufacturing of clothes, it was always secondary to sheep's wool.⁴⁶ The data from Neo-Babylonian Sippar are very scarce⁴⁷ and the texts that are known to me do not mention the use of linen for the making of clothes for private persons or temple workers.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ According to BM 84224 goat hair was given as *pappasu šá É^d[x] ³u É^dGu-la*, but it is not certain if the prebendary income of a weaver was meant there. In BM 62962 probably goat hair was dyed with *inzahurētu*-dye by Bakûa, the slave of Nabu-bêl-šumati, but it lacks indications about its use for manufacturing the garments for the gods: ³² *ma-na in-za-hu-[ri-e-tu₄] ⁴a-na ši-pi ⁵šá SÍG.ÛZ (?) ⁶a-na ^mBa-ku-ù-a ⁷qal-la ^{md}AG-EN-MU.M[ES] ^{8lu}UŠ.BAR SUM^m*, “two minas of *inzahurētu*-dye was given to Bakûa, the slave of Nabu-bêl-šumati.” However, the delivery of goat hair by shepherds, among them by Šamaš-nāšir, the herdsman of the regular offerings in *OrSu* 50, no. 2 suggests its use for manufacture of cultic garments or fabrics. There is still some doubt because the reading “goat hair” is in this text also uncertain.

⁴⁵ POTTS, *Mesopotamian Civilisation*, pp. 66–67 and 117–119.

⁴⁶ According to WAETZOLDT 1983–1986c, p. 585, linen accounted for approximately 10% of the entire production of textiles in the period of the third Dynasty of Ur. POTTS, *Mesopotamian Civilisation*, p. 119, explains that flax did not become an important crop because flax fields must lie fallow for several years.

⁴⁷ JURSA, *AfO Beih.* 25, pp. 40 and 179 quotes only one document proving that a gardener in Bêl-iqbi planted flax (MMA 2, 13, dated 26.2.Nbp 14).

⁴⁸ The manufacturing of linen garments for priests and other members of the *erīb bīti*-class is never mentioned in the Neo-Babylonian economic texts from the Sippar archives, but this seems to be accidental. The use of linen garments by the priests and the *erīb bītis* is testified in the ritual texts from Uruk from the Seleucid period, see FALKENSTEIN, *UVB* 15, p. 40, obv. 10', 13'; rev. 4', 6', 9'. Two texts seem to mention garments made of *kitinnû*, which were given as a part of a dowry, see ROTH, *AfO* 36/37, p. 31 (CT 49, 165: 8) and WUNSCH, *Ehe-Vermögen*, pp. 10–11 (BM 46618: 16), but in both texts the reading is uncertain. There is a lot of data concerning wool garments and fabrics as elements of dowries, see ROTH, *Marriage*, and ROTH, *AfO* 36/37, pp. 29–32 (detailed information from texts included in *Marriage* and from other texts) and WUNSCH, *Ehe-Vermögen*, no. 2 = BM 46618: 16 (two *gulēnus*, and maybe one *kitinnû*); no. 7 =

However, the *miḥṣu tenû* lists confirm that linen was widely used for the making of garments for the gods. Only one text, CT 2, 2: 8,⁴⁹ mentions the import of linen from Egypt (GADA šá ^{uru}Miṣir) while many more texts include data confirming the import of alum (see below). According to the text from Sippar this import was organised not by the merchant (*tamkāru*), as might be expected, but mainly by the weaver of multi-coloured cloth (*išpar birme*), who possessed specialist knowledge. Their engagement in the import of alum supports the idea suggested below that they were engaged not in manufacturing the garments but in dyeing wool or finished woollen or linen items. Owing to the scarcity of evidence as to how linen was obtained, it is difficult to decide whether the major part of this material came from the harvesting of temple fields or whether it was imported. The lack of information about the cultivation of linen, both from Sippar and Uruk, despite the mentions of other plants cultivated in the fields is hardly accidental. On the other hand, the almost complete lack of information about the importation of linen may result simply from a lack of documentation generally about overland trade at this period. Moreover, the absence of documents from within the temple concerning the issue of linen to the weavers suggests that it was sent directly to temple storehouses located near the weavers' workshops; this procedure would mean that raw materials and the collection of finished products would not be mentioned in the texts. This would also explain the lack of documentation in contrast to the rich documentation concerning wool.

Oppenheim has discussed the other terms denoting raw materials used for the manufacturing of garments in his very important articles on overland trade in Ancient Mesopotamia. According to him, the word *ṭīmu* denoted "the smooth and tightly twinned cotton thread, and *ṭumānu* the nubby and irregular thread made of carded filament of the cocoon of the Assyrian silkworm" imported from West,⁵⁰ while *kitinnû*, "a linen fabric."⁵¹ I do not know of any scholar who accepts the identification of *ṭīmu* with cotton and *ṭumānu* with the Assyrian silkworm, but the third proposal concerning *kitinnû* has been commonly accepted. In accordance with this the authors of the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* describe *kitinnû* as a material made of

BM 47492: 19 (20 *muṣibtu*, large (*rabītu*) and small (*qallat*), although they are counted at the end of the list of all presented items.

⁴⁹ Cf. JOANNÈS, *RA* 86, p. 182ff.

⁵⁰ OPPENHEIM, *JCS* 21, p. 252 and 248. From Theophrastus, the classical author quoted by Oppenheim (*JCS* 21, p. 251), we learn about cotton grown on the island of Dilmun (Tylos); therefore this direction of import seems more probable, especially in the light of a reference in the annals of Sennacherib to the importation of herbs and "trees bearing wool" from the mountains and the country of Chaldea" (though this last piece of information may result from a scribal error).

⁵¹ OPPENHEIM, *JCS* 21, p. 251.

flax or as a linen product.⁵² W. von Soden, followed by authors of CDA, read *kidinnû* and give the more prudent translations: “wohl ein Stoff” (AHw 473 a’) and “a fabric, a textile” (CDA 156b).

Neither proposal can now be accepted, at least after the publication of T. G. Pinches’ copies in CT 55–57, which include a few texts mentioning *ṭumānu* and a few more texts mentioning *kitinnû*. A few additional texts with these words have been identified by me and are used in the present study. Oppenheim refused the identification of *ṭumānu* with linen material using the general arguments which could actually apply to other terms from the realm of the textile industry. He ignored the fact that in all passages known to him (as also in the new texts published subsequently), *ṭumānu* is consistently preceded by GADA, suggesting that the term describes linen, linen material, or linen garments. If one sees *ṭumānu* as material produced by the Assyrian silkworm, one needs to find an indisputable justification as to why the word is preceded by the determinative GADA. To conclude this part of the discussion, one should refer to the fact that so far only one text is known about imported GADA *šá^{uru} Mišir*, while other texts refers to GADA *ṭumānu*, although only the texts quoted by Oppenheim provide unambiguous evidence for importing. Either both terms mean the same, i.e. linen material, or in CT 2, 2: 8 the import of garments is meant, and GADA *ṭumānu* means linen yarn. Such a meaning is suggested by the Sippar texts, which clearly show that *ṭumānu* was used for the manufacturing of garments and was sometimes previously dyed.

Discussion of the meaning of the term *kitinnû* should begin with two basic arguments against the interpretation of this word as *linen fabric* or *finished linen product*. First, it is suspicious that, although linen was known in Mesopotamia from at least the third millennium B.C., *kitinnû* appears only in texts of the first millennium B.C. The fact that references to *kitinnû* are fairly rare until the middle of the sixth century B.C., and that it is mentioned only as a material for the gods’ garments, suggest that it was of particular importance. It is also conspicuous that, although many linen products (e.g. *kibsu*) were used to make other garments for the gods, *kitinnû* never appears in such a context. Certain texts clearly distinguish between *kitinnû* and *kitû*, including the well-known BM 91002, where after ^{tu}*g**šib-ti* of Šamaš we see the word *ki-tin-nu*, while in order to specify the material used for the manufacturing of other parts of Šamaš’s garments the word GADA (*kitû*) was put before the name of the garment (*salḫu*, *ḫul-lānu*) or after it (*mēzeḫu*). This proves that the scribe intended to distinguish clearly between *kitinnû* and *kitû*, and he put *kitinnû* in places where the determinative is expected, i.e. its use must have a comparable meaning to *SÍG* and *GADA*. The most important argument against the identification

⁵² CAD K 465 b: 1. linen (as material), 2. linen towel(?).” This meaning was accepted recently by BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 382.

of *kitinnû* as linen material is provided by CT 55, 834, where the word is preceded by the determinative SÍG, not GADA, which precedes or follows all garments made of linen.

The other important argument is that some texts suggest that the quality of *kitinnû* was similar to wool. In CT 56, 5, half a talent of *kitinnû* and two minas of red wool (*tabarru*) were given to the weavers Bakûa and Nabû-upnîya for the manufacturing of two *ši-ba-ta* for Anunîtu. In the latter text, the mention of the wool from which the *šibtu* was woven, shows beyond any doubt that *kitinnû* must be a material similar to wool rather than a finished fabric. In CT 55, 834, Sūqaya received 10 *ma-na* ^{sig}*ki-tin-nu* ²*ul-tu lu-ba-ri* *šá* ^dUTU ³*a-na šib-tu* ⁴*šá* GIŠ.NÁ ⁴*šá* ^dUTU *šá* ITI.ZÍZ ⁵*ku-mu* SÍG.ĪLA “10 minas of *kitinnû* from a *lubāru* of Šamaš for a *šibtu* for the bed of Šamaš of the month Šabātu instead of wool.”⁵³ As we can see, the ^{sig}*kitinnû* had been recovered from a *lubāru* garment and recycled to make the *šibtu* and it was used instead of wool. In BM 64060 (= Bertin 2354), ^{11/2}¹ *ma-na ki-tin-ni-e* KILAL ^{1en} *šib-tu* ⁴*a-na* GIŠ.NÁ *šá* ^dIM “half a mina of *kitinnû*, the weight of one *šibtu* of the bed of Adad” were given to Erībā, the son or descendant of Lib-<luṭ>. A similar situation can be found in Nbn 879 where 13 minas of *kitinnû* and 1 mina of *tabarru* wool are given for manufacturing a *šibtu*, most probably for the goddess Anunîtu. Thirty-eight minas of *kitinnû* for the *šib-ba-ta* of an unspecified god(dess) are mentioned in BM 49188, dated to the accession year of Sîn-šar-iškun.⁵⁴ Also in one text from Uruk, the *šibtu*-garments were made of *kitinnû*.⁵⁵ We do not know a single text suggesting that *kitû* was used for manufacturing a *šibtu*. Thence, linen was apparently not used to make the *šibtu*. Neither could *kitinnû* be yarn, because the latter was called *ṭīmu* or *ṭīmītu*. In my view, all these facts prove that a new material appeared in Mesopotamia in the first millennium, which had not been known before and which was called *kitinnû* in Babylonia.

As mentioned before, the word *kitinnû* does not appear in texts from Assyria, and the earliest instance of its use is the Babylonian BM 91002, a text from the ninth century, which, however, we know only as a copy, probably made in the late 7th century B.C. (see below, Chapter V). Even if we assume that the copy provides an accurate rendering of the pertinent passage, this means that the earliest reference to *kitinnû* dates to approximately the mid-ninth century B.C. In this context, it is of particular significance that an Assyrian source concerns the arrival of a new material for weaving cloth in this territory. We read of this in the account of Sennacherib’s setting up of the famous garden in Nineveh around “the palace that has no rival.” Among the trees and shrubs imported from abroad, *iṣē*

⁵³ “The issue of wool and linen” in BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 341 is incorrect.

⁵⁴ Published by FALKNER, *Afo* 16 (1952/53), p. 307 and Pl. XV.

⁵⁵ IBK 165: 25 (MÁŠ.ME *šá ki-ti-né-e*). See also CT 22, 35: 40.

nāš šipāti “trees bearing wool”⁵⁶ are mentioned, after which we find the statement: *iššū nāš šipāti ibquma imḥašu šubātiš* “they plucked wool-bearing trees and wove it into clothing.”⁵⁷ Still, there is no extant Assyrian mention confirming that clothes were made of this “wool,” which suggests that the experiments with making garments from the produce of “the wool-bearing trees” (the Assyrian scribe used the word denoting sheep wool) did not bring about a general practice in that country. “Trees bearing wool” are also mentioned among *gimir riqqê inib šippâte iše biblat^{lat} šadī ū māti^{mat} Kaldi* “all kinds of herbs and fruit-trees, trees, produce of the mountains and Chaldea.” Since those trees could not have been grown in the mountains, it must be assumed that they were brought from the land of the Chaldeans, i.e. from Babylonia.⁵⁸ BM 91002 proves that it was a unique material, intended solely for the making of one (possibly one of the most important, since it is the first item in the list), and certainly the heaviest, item of Šamaš’s garments, i.e. the *šibtu*. Since there is no documentation for the entire period up to the early sixth century B.C., it cannot be established if the *šibtu* of Šamaš was indeed made of *kitinnū* at that time. One may doubt it strongly, as out of the several hundred texts from the sixth and the fifth centuries B.C. which refer to the making of the *šibtu* for Šamaš, only a few actually state that *kitinnū* was used for this purpose. Consequently, even at the time of the greatest expansion of the Ebabbar farm in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., the temple did not have enough *kitinnū* at its disposal to fulfil the old quota and the *šibtu* of Šamaš was woven of sheep’s wool, with only a few exceptions.

It was quite early on that scholars identified the “trees bearing wool” as cotton (*Gossypium arboreum*), grown in India,⁵⁹ but so far nobody has attempted to identify the word denoting the “tree wool” in the Akkadian vocabulary.⁶⁰ The descriptive references to the produce of the “trees bearing wool” suggest that there was no such word in the Assyrian dialect of

⁵⁶ CT 26, col. VII 53; cf. LUCKENBILL, OIP 2, p. 111.

⁵⁷ CT 26, col. VIII 64; cf. LUCKENBILL, OIP 2, p. 116.

⁵⁸ This was pointed out already by B. MEISSNER, *BuA* I, p. 209. Cf. however, CAD B 221b, where it is suggested that *mat^{mat} Kal-di* “may be taken for a corrupt version of *biblāt šadī ū māti-tan* <DI> after the similar phrases *šadī ū ma-ti-tan*, OIP 2 113 VIII 17, and *passim* in the royal inscriptions.”

⁵⁹ MEISSNER, *BuA* I, p. 209. Herodotus (Hdt. III 106; VII 65) writes about cotton plantations in India. For the latest research concerning the cultivation of cotton in the Indian subcontinent and the presence of cotton products in Mesopotamia long before Sennacherib, cf. POTTS, *Mesopotamian Civilisation*, pp. 27–272. Cf. also FRAHM, *Sennacherib*, pp. 277f. As noted by Frahm, in addition to cotton another plant called *sindū*, was introduced to Mesopotamia.

⁶⁰ KÄMMERER and SCHWIDERSKI, DAW, p. 41, translate “Baumwolle” into Akkadian as *šipātu(m)*, which must be considered wrong. Apparently, these authors’ conjecture is based on the text from the annals of Sennacherib, where the Assyrian scribe merely describes the plant, which was unknown to him, and for which he did not know an Akkadian word.

the Akkadian, which of course need not have been the case with Babylonian. Likewise, it is quite conceivable that the new produce yielded by the relatively rare plant was used exclusively for making the gods' garments, if only because the fabric was scarce and its white was much purer than that of wool or linen. The situation may well have changed in the times of Nabonidus, when *kitinnû* was issued to brewers,⁶¹ *ša kurummati šarri*, "the one in charge of the royal rations"⁶² and to the *šāpiru ša nuḥatimmê*, "the supervisor of bakers",⁶³ nevertheless, it was still a rare material, particularly in comparison with linen and sheep's wool. Evidence of the fact that cotton was considered an exceptionally valuable material as late as in sixth century B.C., is found in Herodotus' account of the Samnites stealing the armour that pharaoh Amasis had sent to the Lacedaemonians: "It was of linen, and had a vast number of figures of animals inwoven into its fabric, and was likewise embroidered with gold and tree-wool."⁶⁴ If ornaments were made of cotton as well as of gold, then the former must have been a rare and particularly valued material at that time.⁶⁵

Regrettably, only four texts include data concerning the price of *kitinnû*. In Nbn 439 (20.6b. Nbn 10), where two traders delivered one talent nine minas of *kitinnû* instead of paying seven shekels as the rent of the houses the proportion is ca. ten minas of *kitinnû* for one shekel of silver, i.e. it is much lower than the price of wool. In Nbn 291 (Nbn 8), five minas of *kitinnû* is valued at one shekel of silver. Important is BM 79603 (Camb 7), in which two transactions are preserved. In the first, 41 minas of *kitinnû* are valued at about thirteen shekels of silver, i.e. ca. three minas ten shekels of *kitinnû* for one shekel of silver (line 3); in the second, twenty minas of *kitinnû* is valued at ten shekels of silver, i.e. two minas for one shekel of silver. A similar equivalence appears in Cam 250, where 15 minas of *kitinnû* is valued at $5\frac{1}{3}$ shekels of silver, i.e. ca. 3 minas for one shekel of silver. As we can see, in general the price of *kitinnû* was higher than that of wool or linen. Although *kitinnû* appears for the first time in southern Babylonia in the ninth century B.C., for quite a long time it was still rare and expensive, and at first it was used only for making the sacred garments. The situation changed early in the reign of Nabonidus, when the available data increases and when *kitinnû* is given to many temple person-

⁶¹ BM 60842 (Nbn 7), BM 79346 (Nbn 10).

⁶² BM 64991 (1.3.Nbn 1); BM 79359 ([Nbn x]). Still, we do not know if *kitinnû* was used for their military clothes (cf. Herodotus, the passage quoted above).

⁶³ Nbn 460 (1.10.Nbn 10). In another two texts, BM 79669 (Nbn 10, where *kitinnû* was intended *a-na gi-i-di*) and BM 68315 (where year 13 is mentioned), neither the person's position (the person's name is lost in the latter document) nor the use of *kitinnû* are clear.

⁶⁴ Hdt. III 47.

⁶⁵ See the opinion of Herodotus who insists that cotton wool is "exceeding in beauty and goodness that of sheep" (Hdt. III 106).

nel, which suggests that it was becoming more popular compared with earlier.

Incidentally, it is equally hard to establish the etymology of the word: it may derive from the Arabic “*kattan*,” sc. “flax,” or – which is phonologically less plausible – “*quṭn*,” sc. “cotton.”⁶⁶ Regardless of all these problems, it is obvious that “trees bearing wool” were known in Mesopotamia and the word *kitinnû* appeared there at the earliest in the ninth century B.C.; accordingly, we may safely surmise that the new word denoted a new weaving material.

Apart from *ṭumānu* and *kitinnû* additional terms used in the textile texts from Sippar are *ṭīmu*, *ṭīmītu* and *ṭīmūtu*. For the sake of convenience, the discussion in each case will be preceded by quotes from the respective texts.

1. *ṭīmu*

- 5 GÍN SÍG.ĤÉ.ME.DA KIL.LAL *ṭi-mu šá* TÚG.ĤI.A *qab-lu*, “five shekels of red wool, the weight of *ṭīmu*-yarn for the *lubār qablu*-garment” (BM 61762; *dullu pešû* text concerning the garments of Anunītu)
5 *ma-na* SÍG.ĤI.A *a-na ṭi-mu* ¹*a-na*¹ [^{md}UTU-ŠEŠ-MU], “five minas of wool for *ṭīmu*-yarn for [Šamaš-aḫa-iddin]” (Cam 90:6–7)
- 5 GÍN SÍG.ZA.GÍN.KUR.RA *a-na ṭi-mu šá* TÚG.ĤI.A *me-e-ṭi** TÚG.ĤI.A ¹*ku-lu*¹-[*lu*] ⁴*ù e-ri šá* ^d*A-nu-ni-tu*₄, “five shekels of blue-purple wool for *ṭīmu*-yarn for the *lubār mēṭu*, the *lubār kulūlu* (and) *lu-bār erru* headdresses of Anunītu” (for Aḫḫē-iddin-Marduk, the owner of the prebend in the small sanctuaries; Cam 158: 1–3)
- 10 GÍN* SÍG.ZA.GÍN.KUR.RA *a-na ṭi-mu šá* *pi-šá-an-ni* [*a-na*] MÍ.GAL.MEŠ, “ten shekels of blue-purple wool for *ṭīmu*-yarn to make a *pišannu*-bag for the female chief(?)” (Cam 158: 5–6).⁶⁷
- 1 *ma-na* 18 GÍN ^{sig}*ṭi-mu šá* *pi-šá-an-ni a-na ši-pi ina* IGI ^m*Gi-mil-lu*, “one mina eighteen shekels of *ṭīmu*-yarn to make a *pišannu*-bag at disposal of Gimillu (*išpar* <*birmi*>“; BM 60803: 1)
- 7 1/2 GÍN *ṭi-im* ^m*Šu-la-a* ^{lu}*UŠ*¹.BAR GADA *a-na É-babbar-ra it-ta-din*, “seven and a half shekels of *ṭīmu*-yarn Šulā, the linen weaver has given to the Ebabbar temple” (BM 60135: 1–4)

2. *ṭīmītu*

- ⁵/₆ *ma-na* 5 GÍN *ṭi-mi-tu*₄ *šá* ^{gada}*pi-šá-an-ni* <*a-na*> ^m*Ba-ku-ú-a*, “fifty-five shekels of *ṭīmītu*-yarn for a *pišannu*-bag for Bakûa” (BM 63912 = Bertin 1584: 4–5)

⁶⁶ A similar form for cotton is known also in Hebrew (information courtesy of Prof. Israel Ephal).

⁶⁷ Concerning the reading and the translation of MÍ.MEŠ, see BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 249.

- 2 GÍN *ta-kil-tu₄ a-na ṭi-mi-tu₄ a-na šá-pi-e* TÚG.ĪL.A *me-ṭu* TÚG.ĪL.A *ku-lu-lu šá^d A-nu-ni-tu₄*, “two shekels of blue-purple wool for *ṭimītu*-yarn for thick (weaving of) a *lubār mēṭu* (and) a *lubār kulūlu* of Anunītu” (BM 75767 = Bertin 1399: 7–10)
- 2⁵/₆ *ma-na a-[na] ṭi-mi-tu₄ šá 3^rx¹*, “two minas fifty shekels for ... *ṭimītu*-yarn for three ...” (BM 83776: 2’–3’; below this line *lubar mē* SIG₅ of Anunītu is mentioned)
- 3 *ma-na a-na tum-bi ù ṭi-ma-a-ta šá pi-<šá>-an-nu a-na^{md} UTU-TIN^{it}* SUM “3 minas for a *tumbū* and *ṭimītu*-yarn for a *pišannu*-bag was given to Šamaš-uballī” (BM 84214: 13–15)
- 2 GADA *sal-ḥu^r ṭi-mi-tu₄¹*, “two linen *salḥu*” (evidently erased, but still readable; BM 61025: 2’; an *iškaru* list)
- 5 *ma-na SÍG.ĪL.A a-na ṭi-mi-i-tu₄ šá pi-šá-an-na a-na^f Kaš-šá-a^f MÍ.GAL-tu₄ šá É^d GAŠAN UD.KIB.NUN.KI*, “five minas of wool for *ṭimītu*-yarn for a *pišannu*-bag was given to Kaššaya, the female chief of the temple of Šarrat Sippar” (Cam 24: 1–4)
- [...] *ṭi-mi-tu₄ šá a-di-la¹-nu*, “[...] of *ṭimītu*-yarn for an *adilānu* (Cyr 190: 1)
- 1¹/₃ *ma-<na> 5 GÍN KIL.LAL ṭi-mi-tu₄ 16^rgada¹ pi-šá-nu*, “one mina twenty-five shekels, the weight of *ṭimītu*-yarn (for?) sixteen *pišannu*-bags” (Cyr 190: 5–6)
- KI.MIN KIL.LAL *ṭi-mi-tu₄ šá me-ṭu*, “ditto, the weight of *ṭimītu*-yarn (for *lubār*) *mēṭu*” (Cyr 190: 16)
- 10 GÍN KIL.LAL *ṭi-mi-tu₄ šá šá-pi-e šá ku-si-tu₄ šá^d A-a SÍG.ĪÉ.ME.DA*, “ten shekels, the weight of *ṭimītu*-yarn for thick (weaving of) a *kusītu*-robe of Aya (of) red wool”, (CT 44, 73: 22; a long *dullu pešū* list)

3. *ṭimūtu*

- 18 *ma-na ki-tin-nu 1 ma-na GIŠ*.LAGAB* 1 qa^{na4} gab-ú a-na ṭi-mu-tu₄ šá^d A-nu-ni-tu₄ a-na^{md} ĪAR-ši-man-ni [SU]Mⁱⁿ*, “eighteen minas of cotton(?), one mina of *ḥūratu*-dye, one *qa* of alum for *ṭimūtu*-yarn was given to Bunene-šimanni” (BM 74670: 1–4)
- 1/2 GÚ.UN^{sig} *ṭi-^rmu¹-[tu₄ i-na pap-pa-su^{lu} MU-[ú-tu]^{md} UTU-DÙ u^m Ši[l-la-a SUM]*, “half a talent of woollen *ṭimūtu*-yarn for the prebendary income of the bakers are given to Šamaš-ibni and Šillaya” (BM 83528: 1–3)

4. *ṭumānu*

- 4 GADA *ṭu-ma-nu*, “four (shekels?) of linen *ṭumānu*” (BM 62100: 17; an *iškaru* list; garments delivered by ^mLib-[luṭ]^{lu} UŠ.BAR GADA u^{lu} ERÍN.MEŠ)
- 6 GADA *ṭu-ma-nu^f Mu-ra-na-tu₄*, “six (shekels?) of linen *ṭumānu* (from?) Muranātu” (BM 72810: 16’–17’; fragment of an *iškaru* list)

- 4 *ma-na* 17 GÍN *tu-ma-nu a-na** 2 *me* ŠUⁱⁱ, “four minas seventeen shekels of *tu-mānu* for 200 “hands” (Nbn 164: 21; an *ēpeš nikkassi* text)
- 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ²*a-na tu-ma-na ina* ŠU^{ii 3m} *Ri-ḫi-tu*, “one shekel of silver for *tu-mānu* from the hands of Rēḫētu” (Nbn 624: 1)
- 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ina* ŠUKU.ḪI.A ^{2nd}ḪAR-DÜ ^{<lu>}*pu-ša-a-a* ³*a-na GADA tu-ma-nu* SUMⁱⁿ, “one shekel of silver (given?) for rations (of) Bunene-ibni, the bleacher, for linen *tu-mānu*” (Nbn 805: 3)
- 2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ša a-na tu-ma-nu* [...], “two shekels of silver, which for *tu-mānu*” (BM 65741. L.h.e. 2)
- ^{1/3}*ma-na* 5 GÍN ²GADA *tu-ma-nu* [*a-na*] ³IGI *mu-šu-e ša* [^dx] given to the weaver, “25 shekels [of silver for] linen *tu-mānu* [to] make a *pān muṣē*-garment of DN” (BM 65133: 2)

The texts quoted above support Oppenheim’s observations that the *ṫīmu* was made from both wool and linen.⁶⁸ From BM 63912 (= Bertin 1584), where the *ṫimītu* was presumably used for the manufacture of a linen bag (^{gada}*pi-ša-an-ni*), it follows that this term, too, may mean “linen yarn,” and not only “two-ply yarn made of wool and hair,” as Oppenheim believed. The term *ṫimūtu* has been so far obscure, but BM 74670 suggests that *kitinnū* was a material used for its manufacture, while the determinative SÍG in BM 83528 suggests that the *ṫimūtu* meant woollen yarn in this text. As far as *tu-mānu* is concerned, three out of five known Sippar texts deal with payment in silver for its delivery. Additionally, the fact that the deliverers of the material (Bunene-ibni and Libluṭ, both *išpar kitē/pūšaya*, as well as Rēḫētu, the *išpar birme*) belonged to the group of non-prebendary weavers indicates that *tu-mānu* did not originate in temple production, thus making arguments for its importation, as postulated by Oppenheim, even more convincing. That the two deliverers belonged to the group of linen weavers, and that the determinative GADA is used, despite Oppenheim’s objections, calls to mind linen yarn. A comparison of texts mentioning *ṫīmu* with texts mentioning *ṫimītu* shows that both signify the yarn used for the manufacture of the same products, mostly bags (*pišannu*) and headbands (*lubār mēṭu*, *lubār kulūlu*, *lubār erru*). This suggests that even if both terms denoted various kinds of yarn, the difference between them was of limited significance. The fact that the *ṫīmu* and *ṫimītu* were made of both wool and linen and used for the manufacture of the same kinds of garments suggests that what is meant here is a particular method of preparing yarn, rather than different working materials for its production.

It is worthwhile noting that the preserved texts reflect different stages of production. In BM 60803, Gimillu, the multicoloured weaver, receives one mina eighteen shekels of <alum> *a-na ši-pi ša ṫi-me ša pi-ša-ṛan¹-ni*), i.e.

⁶⁸ OPPENHEIM *JCS* 21, p. 248. Oppenheim (p. 247) derives the word from *ṫw/mu* “to spin” (cf. already Dougherty, *GC* 1, p. 25, n. 1: *ṫamū*, “spin”, “weave”), but he suggests also an additional meaning: “to twist” (p. 252).

the yarn was to be dyed first (similarly ll. 8–11 in this text, where surely the same weaver received a similar quantity of alum “for dying *īmu*-yarn to make a *pišannu*-bag”). BM 60135: 1–2 refers to the returning to the Ebabbar temple of an unused surplus of 7½ shekels of *īmu* by Šulā, the linen weaver; though the kind of material is not specified, from Šulā’s specialisation one can surmise that it was probably linen yarn. From Cam 158 one can infer that Aḫē-iddin-Marduk, in his capacity as owner of a weaver’s prebend, received from the temple five shekels of blue-purple wool for *īmu*-yarn to make three headdresses (*lubār mētu*, *lubār kulūlu* and *lubār erru*) of Anunītu, and again blue-purple wool for *īmu*-yarn for the bag of Anunītu, given to MÍ.GAL.MEŠ (*rabūte*). In both texts, the temple again entrusts unused yarn which reached the temple’s storehouses after the accounting for working material upon completing a task. BM 61762: 13, the *dullu pešū* text, includes accounts for garments for the goddess Anunītu; only in one line is it stated that 5 shekels of *tabarru* wool was the weight of yarn (*īmu*) used for a *lubār qablu*. Either such a quantity of wool was surplus or Uballisu-Gula needed it for the repair of an old garment.

Another question is the matter of combining wool with linen. The mere fact that there are separate *dullu pešū* lists (which include only wool goods) and the *miḥṣu tenū* texts (in which linen products predominate), suggests that sacred garments were only rarely prepared by combining various kinds of yarns.⁶⁹ If they were combined at all, the scale of it was limited.⁷⁰ Only two texts, BM 49580 and BM 78914, offer clear indication that both basic raw materials, wool and linen, were applied in the manufacture of deities’ garments.⁷¹ Both texts were written on the same day and, despite some differences, deal with the production of the same item, a *tunšu* required as the cover for the bed of Šamaš, weighing 31⅝ mina (BM 49580) or 31⅓ mina (BM 78914).⁷² Taken together, the two texts reveal that the cover was made of 5 mina of the *ḥašḥuru* wool and from 25⅝ (or 25 ⅓) minas of *tabarru* and *takiltu* wool, as well as one mina of linen (the weight is given only in BM 78914). Here we have strong evidence for the

⁶⁹ See p. 79 on the opinion that originally all garments included in the *miḥṣu tenū* lists were probably made of linen.

⁷⁰ Mesopotamian texts do not provide any basis for a claim that – as in Israel – there was a rule prohibiting combining wool with linen (i.e., animal products with plant ones).

⁷¹ According to NBDMich 7 half mina of GADA *ṭumānu* and 10 shekels of blue-purple wool were delivered to the weaver *ana lubuṣti ša* ITINE, however, it is not certain, that both materials were used for manufacturing one garment.

⁷² According to SALONEN, StOr 41, p. 250, the *tunšu*-cloaks were manufactured by the *huppū*-weaver, described as “spezialisierte Handwerker”, who “von dem ‘gewöhnlichen’ Weber, *išparu*, zu unterschieden ist”, “Hersteller eines bestimmten Kleidungsstückes, für das man einen wohl auf eine spezifische Weise gewebten Stoffe brauchte.” Note, however, that in both texts discussed here, the *tunšu*-cloaks were made by Nabû-bēl-šumāti, the *išparu*.

combining of wool and linen, though the proportion of linen was very modest (less than one thirtieth of the total weight). Such a small quantity does not imply that wool and linen were combined intensively. Linen was applied there either to strengthen the edge of the cover or for embroidered application. All in all, that linen was combined with wool to a significant extent seems improbable. Combining linen with wool was known, but the different reactions of wool and linen during washing probably limited the use of this combination in the production of garments.

2. The organization of wool production and its procurement

Previous studies of the subject have devoted most attention to sheep breeding on temple farms, which were the principal suppliers of wool, the essential material for the making of sacred garments. Much less heed has been paid to the organization of the deliveries of wool to the temples. Based on documents from Uruk, especially on YOS 6, 155, and the so-called Aršam texts, it has been postulated that a simple method of settling accounts had emerged, specifying fixed quotas of wool due: 90 shekels per adult sheep and 50 shekels per goat allocated to the temple part of the farm. A careful reading of NBC 4897 has revealed, however, that at least in this case another mode of settlement was used: the amount of wool to be supplied by each sheep was lower at the beginning of the ten-year period and higher at the end, although the average value was almost exactly 90 shekels per year. As the amount of wool supplied to the temple increased, the holder of the flock apparently delivered a fixed percentage of the wool that had actually been shorn.⁷³ Since this manner of settlement required inspection of the flock, at least at shearing times, we may assume that it was used fairly seldom.

Previous studies have also focused on the administration of the supply of sacrificial animals to the temples. We know that special flocks were allocated for this purpose, taken care of by the *rē'i ginē/sattukki* "herdsmen of the regular offerings." We do not know, however, the details of the process, i.e. whether the herdsmen knew in advance how many animals must be supplied to the temple at what times, or whether they had to fulfil the orders of the temple administration as they came, obviously within the quota specified in the contract. A frequently-used method of regulation was the prebend system, under which the prebendary was obliged to prepare offerings of meat for specified dates. As live animals were sacrificed, slaughtered by a ritual butcher, parts of the flocks dedicated to that purpose were put in the care of the *rē'i ginē/sattukki*, although quite often the matter was settled by means of a lease contract. A part of the stock received

⁷³ ZAWADZKI, *JCS* 55, pp. 159ff.

from the herdsmen was kept in a fattening house, because the sacrifice of a fattened animal was considered a sign of respect and devotion to the deity.

In order to keep track of the amount of the temple's livestock, the flocks were inspected on a yearly basis, and the results were recorded, broken down by sex and age. NBC 4897 from Uruk proves that the settlements of accounts pertained not only to the livestock, but also to other goods, in this case to sheep's wool and goat hair. This document, however, is merely a settlement made with the party leasing a particular flock.

The following text from Sippar represents another stage of the accounting process:

BM 62637 (82-9-18, 2606)

7.9 × 6.2 cm

1. 36 GÚ.UN 3⁵/₆ *ma-na* SÍG.ĪI.A
 2. *ir-bi šá* ^{lú}SIPA.MEŠ *šá* MU.24.KÁM
 3. 38 GÚ.UN 10 *ma-na* SÍG.ĪI.A *ina ma-ni-tu₄ šá* MU.24.KÁM
 4. 2 GÚ.UN [†]8[?]1 [*ma*]-*na* ¹/₃ GÍN SÍG.ĪI.A *ina ma-ni-tu₄ e-te-qu*
 5. 40 [†]GÚ.UN[†] 42¹/₂ *ma-na* SÍG.ĪI.A *ir-†bi[†]*
 6. [*šá* ^{lú}]SIPA.MEŠ *šá* MU.25.KÁM
- Rev.
7. [x]+2 GÚ.UN 59 *ma-na* SÍG.ĪI.A
 8. *ina ma-†ni[†]-tu₄ šá* MU.26.KÁM 5 GÚ.UN 13¹/₂ *ma-na*
 9. SÍG.ĪI.A *ina ir-bi e-te-qu*
 10. 39 GÚ!.UN! 44 *ma-na* SÍG.ĪI.A
 11. *ir-bi šá* ^{lú}SIPA.MEŠ *šá* MU.26.KÁM
 12. 49 G[Ú.UN x] *ma-na* SÍG.ĪI.A
 13. [*ina*] [†]*ma-ni-tu₄*! 10 {G[Ú.UN](?) } [†]GÚ!.UN 6 *ma-na* SÍG.ĪI.A
 14. *e-te-qu*

36 talents, 3⁵/₆ minas of wool, the income of the shepherds from the twenty-fourth year.

38 talents, 10 minas of wool (are expected) in the accounting for the twenty-fourth year; 2 talents, [†]8[?]1 minas 20 shekels of wool are missing in the accounting.

40 talents, 42¹/₂ minas of wool, the income of the shepherds for the twenty-fifth year.

[45(?)] talents 59 minas of wool (are expected) in the accounting for the twenty-fifth! year; 5 talents 13 ¹/₂ minas of wool are missing from the income.

39 talents!, 44 minas of wool, the income of the shepherds from the twenty-sixth year.

49 tal[ents x] minas of wool (are expected) in the accounting; 10 (x[?]) talents, 6 minas of wool are missing.

L. 3. The phrase *ina manītu etēqu* “to be missing in accounting” appears for the first time here; for *manītu*, singular of *manātu*, “accounting, bookkeeping,” see CAD M/I 208.

L. 4. The GÚ.UN is followed by the remains of a numeral (two vertical wedges with one above them preserved) which could be 5 or 8.

L. 6. MU.25.KÁM would be expected but the numeral 26 is clear (see n. 75).

L. 9. Parallel to l. 4 we expect here *ina ma-ni-tu₄* but the signs are clear.

L. 10. The numeral 39 is followed by clear KÜR, which I emend to GÚ.UN.

L. 12. The numeral 49 is wrong; three signs preceding *ma-na* are evidently intentionally erased.

L. 13. Between the numeral 10 (?) and GÚ.UN there is a heavily damaged sign, where, maybe, also GÚ.UN was written. The numeral 6 is clear. 39 talents 44 minas (l. 10) plus 10 (?) talents 6 minas gives 49 talents 50 minas, while in l. 12 there is only 49 talents + x minas.

The text provides extremely interesting evidence for book-keeping practices. Note that the suppliers of wool are not identified by name, but only by profession. Thus, the purpose of the document was not to settle accounts with all the individual herdsmen, but merely to specify the obligations of the whole group of herdsmen to the temple. The document covers a period of three years, from the twenty-fourth to the twenty-sixth year of the reign of an unidentified ruler,⁷⁴ and two subsequent entries probably refer to the same particular year.⁷⁵ Insofar as I can understand the text, the report for each year specifies: (1) the amount of the wool actually delivered by the herdsmen (called *irbu*, sc. “the (temple’s) income”); (2) the amount which they had originally been obliged to deliver (the beginning of the second entry); and (3) their arrears. What makes the text difficult to interpret is the fact that the sum of (1) and (3) approximates the amount of (2) but does not exactly equal it.⁷⁶ The discrepancies might be explained by the fact that the preserved text is not an original record but a fairly inaccurate copy. Assuming that 90 shekels of wool per shorn sheep should be delivered to the temple, the amount of 38 talents due in year 24 would be produced by approximately 1,525 sheep, and the amount due for year 25, by approximately 1,640 sheep. Since the total number of the temple’s sheep must have been much higher at that time, the discussed text must constitute

⁷⁴ Since the text probably comes from the archives of the Ebabbar temple, the only possibilities are Nebuchadnezzar II or Darius II. This type of long-term report was more likely to be used during the reign of the latter. Other arguments in favour of the reign of Darius are the large size of both the tablet and the signs.

⁷⁵ Although the reading of MU.26.KÁM in l. 8 is certain, in my view it was the scribe’s misspelling of the proper date, which was “year 25.”

⁷⁶ Year 24: 36 talents 3 minas 50 shekels + 2 talents [5 or 8 mi]nas 20 shekels = 38 talents, 90 minas and 10 shekels (or 38 minas 12 talents 10 shekels), i.e. 50 shekels below or 2 minas 10 shekels over the amount given in line 3.

Year 25. By adding 40 talents (line 5) to 5 talents (line 8), we can reconstruct l. 7 as [45] talents 59 minas. However, 42.5 minas + 13.5 minas = 56 minas, while l. 7 “59 minas” is clear.

Year 26. Cf. the commentary to the text.

a settlement of accounts with only one group of herdsmen, which had been set apart.⁷⁷

The tablet BM 61467 is a similar report:

BM 61467 (82-9-18, 1441)

7.8 × 4.1 cm

1. SÍG.ĪI.A šá MU.1.KÁM ^m*Kam-bu-zi-ja* LUGAL T[IN.TIR.KI]
2. LUGAL KUR.KUR *gaz-za-a'*
3. 33½ GÚ.UN 2 *ma-na* SÍG.ĪI.A
4. MU.1.KÁM ^m*Kam-bu-zi-ja gaz-za-a'*
5. 31 GÚ.UN 45 *ma-na* SÍG.ĪI.A
6. [MU.2.KÁM] ^m*Kam-bu-zi-ja [gaz-za-a']*
7. nothing preserved

Rev. 1'. [x GÚ].ĪUN¹ [(x *ma-na*) SÍG.ĪI.A]
 2'. [MU].Ī5¹.KÁM ^m*Kam-bu-zi-j[a gaz-za-a']*

3'. [x] GÚ.UN SÍG.ĪI.A MU.6.KÁM ^m*Kam-bu¹-[zi-ja]*
 4'. LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI LUGAL KUR.KUR *gaz-za-a'*

Wool, which in the first year of Cambyses, king of Babylon, king of Lands was sheared.

33½ talents 2 minas of wool were sheared in the first year of Cambyses.

31 talents 45 minas of wool were sheared in the [second year] of Cambyses.

(Four lines accounting for the third and fourth year of Cambyses are missing)

Rev. [x tal]ents [(x minas) of wool were sheared in the] fifth [year of] Cambyses.

[x] talents of wool were sheared in the sixth year of Cambyses, king of Babylon, king of Lands.

The text, which is considerably damaged, reports the yields from sheep shearing during the first six years of Cambyses' reign. Assuming the same quota of 90 shekels of wool due to the temple per sheep, the wool procured in the first year of Cambyses would be produced by 1,340 sheep, and in the second, by 1,270. Thence, both in this document and in the previous one,

⁷⁷ Our above calculations may be compared with the data on grown-up animals (*puḫālu* and *alittu*) in the flocks of Sippar in years 17 and 20 of Nabopolassar (cf. VAN DRIEL, *BSA* 7, p. 257, Appendix III). In the former case, ten flocks would hold 2,679 rams and ewes, and in the latter, 2,578.

the reports would concern only a part of the current temple flocks. More evidence for the amounts of wool procured comes from BM 75503, another text from Cambyses' time; since it has recently been published by the author,⁷⁸ we will only quote its translation:

BM 75503 (83-1-18, 844)

1. Sheep and goats of the shepherds of Šamaš, which were inspected in the *tamirtu* of Gil[ušu].
2. Month of Simānu, eleventh day, first year of Cambyses king of Babylon, king of Lands.

3.	<i>Rams</i>	<i>Ewes</i>	<i>Male lambs</i>	<i>Female lambs</i>	Wool	Total
4. 5.	18	429		26	6 tal[ents] '30' minas, including 1 talent x+ '3' [mi]nas for the offerings	Šamaš-zēr-ibni, son of Šulā
6. 7.	8	221	'3'	31	2 talents '45?' [mi]nas, including 1 talent for the offerings	Nabû-ēreš
8. 9.	'9'	328	1	19	3 talents 20 minas, including 1 talent 15 minas for the offerings	Uššaya, son of Nabû-mīta-uballit
10. 11.	x+1	300+x	1	11	3 talents 45 minas, including 1 talent for the offerings	Nabû-zēr-ukīn
12. 13.	'8' 1 ram	140+x	8	27	2 talents '35?' minas, including 1 talent 5 minas for the offerings	Taqīš
14.	5	215	1	15	2½ talents	Ulmašaya
15. 16.	6	150	5	20	2½ talents 5 minas including 20 minas for the offerings	Šamaš-udammiq, son of Rē-mūt

⁷⁸ ZAWADZKI, *JCS* 55, pp. 170ff.

The amounts in the columns are the follows:

	48+x	1783+x	19	24	24 talents (incl. 5 talents 43+x minas as <i>sattuku</i>)	
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BM 75503 contains very significant information about the wool delivered by the *ginê/sattukki* herdsmen. It can be clearly inferred from the text that the temple used the term *sattukku* only to refer to that part of the wool which was allocated directly to the cult, most probably for making articles for the gods. Conceivably, the flocks entrusted to the *rê'i ginê/sattukki* were dedicated not only to the production of religiously pure animals, but also of equally pure wool. Thence, the wool used for the making of the gods' garments might well have come only from such flocks; if it was also procured from other sources, then it must have been suitably certified.⁷⁹ Interestingly, the amount of *sattukku* wool was not a fixed percentage of the total wool produced by a flock.⁸⁰ Accordingly, in this case a fixed quota was not specified, but instead the temple administration collected such amounts of the *sattukku* wool as were required at a given time. The distinction between the *sattukku* wool and other wool suggests that the *sattukku* wool had to comply with certain criteria, probably qualitative ones; otherwise it would not have been necessary to distinguish it.

The basic source of wool for the manufacture of garments for gods was the temple's own flocks, but, as the text below shows, a crucial part of the allowance came also from the kings' flocks. *Nota bene*, this is the first text to demonstrate for certain the existence of the king's flocks. Animals termed *šēnû ša šarri* "king's sheep and goats", in sum 104 rams and goats, 1,973 mature ewes and she-goats (total 2,077 mature animals) and 208 male lambs and male he-goats and 416 female lambs and she-goats (total 624 young animals), grand total 2,701 animals, were divided into eight flocks under the supervision of three shepherds: Balātu, [DN]-šum-ibni and Nabû-zēr-iddin. The heading suggests that as well as sheep there were also goats, but at least in the second, the largest flock of [DN]-šum-ibni there were no goats because the animals are described as "white" (BABBAR), which in the texts of this period refers exclusively to sheep rather than goats. As in the other texts known to date from Sippar, female and male lambs denote the animals which were almost one-year old belonging to the owner, i.e. the king's household, and not actually new-born animals. Al-

⁷⁹ We may assume that the wool for the garments used at the *lubuštu* ceremonies came sometimes from outside the temple, see BM 83328 (ZAWADZKI, *NABU* 2001, pp. 58–59), according to which two brothers from the family *Ša-nāšišu* delivered wool for this purpose.

⁸⁰ The *sattukku* wool accounted for 15.8 + x% of the total wool from the first flock, 36.4% from the second, 37.5% from the third, 26.6% from the fourth, 42% from the fourth, 0% from the sixth and 13% from the seventh.

though some interesting observations concerning the condition of the individual flock are possible, here the most important observation concerns wool. The shepherds were responsible for the delivery of 41 talents of wool, but only the smaller part (exactly 36.6%) was left for the king while 63.4% is described as *šipāti ša* ^d*Šamaš*, i.e. it was destined for the manufacturing of the Sun god's garments.

BM 82559 (93-10-14, 11)

7.3 × 4.3 cm

	1.	<i>ši-e-nu šá</i>	LUGAL		
	2.	<i>pu-ḫal</i>	<i>a-lit-tú</i>	<i>par-ri</i>	<i>par-rat</i>
	3.	10	2 me 2 6	19	52
	4.	ʾ7!ʾ	1 me 97	17	36
	5.	15	1 me 57	25	42
	6.	32	5 me 80	61	1 me 30
					IGI ^m TIN
					PAP 8 me 3
					BABBAR.MEŠ
	7.	10	2 me 19	21	22
	8.	11	2 me 36	26	61
	9.				^m [^d GN]-MU-DÙ
Rev.	10.	4	2 me 8	13	20
	11.	13	1 me 59	26	53
	12.	<i>ina</i>	IGI ^{md} AG-NUMUN-MU		
	13.	26	GÚ.UN SÍG.ĦI.A <i>šá</i> ^d UTU		
	14.	15	GÚ.UN SÍG.ĦI.A <i>šá</i> LUGAL		

L. 4. The first numeral is in fact ʾ9!, however, only 10+7! +15 gives 32 in l. 6.

Sheep and goats of the king

Rams	ewes	male lambs	female lambs	
10	226	19	52	
ʾ7!ʾ	197	17	36	
15	157	25	42	before Balātu
32	580	61	130	total 803 white (animals)
10	219	21	22	
11	236	26	61	
				^m [^d DN]-šum-ibni
4	208	13	20	
13	150	26	53	
at disposal of Nabû-zēr-iddin;				
26 talents of wool of Šamaš				
15 talents of wool of the king.				

Below there are traces of a few signs written in clearly different characters with a line going through all signs. It is not clear if the line represents deliberate erasure or accidental damage. The first one or two signs are unreadable; next is surely NAM followed perhaps by ^dŠÚ.

Another illustration of such a report is included in BM 74271, only partly preserved, which originally included data on the number of sheep sheared and the quantity of fleece, as well as the names of individual herdsman mentioned in rev. 2'. As with BM 75503, the record is not divided into sheep and goats, although the term *šēnu* "sheep and goats", demonstrates that the latter category existed but was statistically unimportant.

BM 74271 (82-9-18, 14294)

4.3 × 5.0 cm

1. <i>ši-e-nu</i>	SÍG.HI.A	TIL[....
2. ZI.MEŠ	SÍG.HI.A	[....
3. 4 ¹ [x?]4	6 GÚ.[UN	
4. 2 ¹ <i>me</i> ¹ [x]	6 GÚ.UN [....	
5. [x <i>me</i>] 36	3 GÚ.UN 10+x [ma-na]	
6. [x x x]	3 GÚ.UN 10+x [ma-na]	
Rest lost		

Rev. 1'. [x x x] 1¹ *lat* 1¹ *hi* [....
 2'. IGI ^{lu}SIPA.MEŠ *ša* [....

L. 1. TIL might be only a part of another sign(s), i.e. *ina* I[GI

Rev. 1'. The partly preserved sign before *lat* is not *e*; the first partly preserved sign in rev. 2' looks like end of PAP or *nu*.

3. Dyes and colours

Although references concerning the use of dyed wool for the manufacture of sacred garments are numerous, it seems that in terms of its weight its use was limited. The fact that so much information about dyed wool is encountered is primarily owed to the high cost of production, owed in turn to the high cost of the dyes. To prove this we may quote the prices as well as the practice of reclaiming dyed wool from worn-out garments.⁸¹

⁸¹ Dyed wool was certainly recycled in the early Neo-Babylonian period; data proving this practice are not encountered in sources from later times, which may suggest that it was discontinued as the extent of the operations of the temple farm and the income of the temple increased. It may alternatively be explained by the accidental loss of relevant texts or by cheaper dyeing procedures (kind suggestion of I. Finkel).

Two types of dyed wool were most commonly used in the garments of the gods of Sippar: *tabarru* wool and *takiltu* wool. *Tabarru* wool, whose name was usually spelt with the Sumerogram SÍG.ĤĒ.ME.DA,⁸² less commonly syllabically, was red. According to CAD N I 22, the ideogram SÍG.ĤĒ.ME.DA was used from the Middle-Babylonian period to represent the Akkadian word *tabarru* rather than *nabāsu*, which it had commonly indicated during earlier periods. The idea is supported by the fact that *nabāsu* is used exactly in the same context where in other texts the syllabic writing *ta-bar-ri/u* or ideographic writing SÍG.HE.MÉ.DA appears, which is construed as evidence that the two terms were fully synonymous. The texts in which the writing *na-ba-su* appears are dated to the time of Nabonidus or later;⁸³ when the scribe decided to use such a form he never changed it with syllabic *ta-bar-ri* or ideographic SÍG.ĤĒ.MÉ.DA.⁸⁴

We learn from several Uruk texts that a shade of red (*tabarru*) was produced by means of a plant called *hūratu* (GIŠ.LAGAB)⁸⁵ or its root, which could be imported from Asia Minor.⁸⁶ Unfortunately, there are only three texts providing evidence for the price of *hūratu*. According to BM 83377 (5.12.Nbn 2) for one talent of wool one talent of the *hūratu*-plant (?) was bought, so the price of *hūratu* was the same as that of undyed wool. Assuming the price of five minas of wool per one shekel of silver, a talent of *hūratu* was worth approximately twelve shekels of silver, or five minas of

⁸² According to the lexical texts, the ideogram SÍG.ĤĒ.ME.DA was also used for *nabāsu*, and therefore it is unclear how it should be read in a specific text.

⁸³ Texts in which the writing *na-ba-su* or *na-bal-su* is used: BM 69774 (first year of Nabonidus); Nbn 78 (second year of Nabonidus); BM 67633+ (seventh year of Nabonidus); BM 62667 (fifth year of Darius); BM 61785+ (time of Darius); BM 63661 (date broken); BM 71048 (day broken) and BM 83395 (date broken).

⁸⁴ There is, however, some problem with interpretation of YOS 17, 307: 1 SÍG.ĤĒ.ME.DA *na-bal-su* ²⁴ TÚG.MÁŠ.ME ³¹ SÍG.GÚ.UD.DU *ša* ^{sig}*ta-bar-ru* “1 (amount) of red wool (of) *nabasu* hue (for) 4 *šibtu* garments (and) 1 *naḥlaptu* of the *tabarru* hue.” WEISBERG 1982, p. 222* translates this as “1 red *nabāsu*-garment (?), 4 *šibtu*-garments, 1 *naḥlaptu*-garment of cochineal”; however, we do not know of a *nabāsu*-garment, and a paraphrase of the two words would produce “1 red garment coloured red,” which does not make much sense. Additionally, it is the only text in which both terms are used side by side. The reading *na-bal-su* is also known from Nbn 78: 13, where it refers to the colour of the *naḥlaptu* for Šarrat Sippar. Cf. also BM 61785+: 9 (*na-bal-as-su*).

⁸⁵ ^{tug}*lu-bar* SÍG.ĤĒ.ME.DA GIŠ.LAGAB: GC 1, 314: 1; ^{tug}*mi-iḥ-ši* *ša* SÍG.ĤĒ.ME.DA GIŠ.LAGAB: YOS 7, 183: 10; *ti-mu* *ša* SÍG.ĤĒ.ME.DA GIŠ.LAGAB: GC 2, 108: 4, GC 2, 121: 15; YOS 7, 183: 30; YOS 17, 301: 16; YOS 19, 270: 14 (... GIŠ.ĠLAGAB¹) and GC 2, 365: 10; YOS 19, 271: 15 (...GIŠ.[LAGAB.J]). Sometimes SÍG.ĤĒ.ME.DA wool is described as *sadru* “regular” (YOS 17, 254: 1).

⁸⁶ As suggested by a religious text from Aššur, KAR 60, r. 8 (cf. *RAcc*, p. 4: 24), speaking of GIŠ.LAGAB *u* NA₄KUR.RA *ša* ^{kur}*Hat-ti*, “*hūratu*-dye and alum (?) from Hatti.” However, it is not certain whether “Hatti” denotes Asia Minor or Syria in this instance. According to KAR 394 II 27 (CT 39, 8b: 1), *hūratu* plants grew in gardens (quoted in CAD H 248 a). Concerning the terms *hūratu* and *inzaḥurētu*, see also OPPENHEIM 1967, pp. 242f.

hūratu cost one shekel of silver. In BM 63899 = Bertin 1632 (22.5.Nbn 14) 2½ talents of *hūratu* cost one mina of silver, and so the ratio is 2.5 minas of *hūratu* per shekel of silver, and the *hūratu* is exactly twice as expensive as undyed wool. According to BM 64869: 7–8 ([x].¹⁵.Dar 11) for 12 shekels of silver only one mina of the *hūratu* was given, i.e. the proportion would be fine shekels of *hūratu* for one shekel of silver, which in the light of two above mentioned texts seems unacceptable.⁸⁷

A plant dye called *inzaḥurētu*⁸⁸ produced another shade of red (*tabarru*). According to certain texts, *inzaḥurētu* was imported mainly from Asia Minor or Ionia (^{kur}Jamani: YOS 6, 168: 1 and YOS 17, 253: 2).⁸⁹ Much more information is available on the price of *inzaḥurētu*, which may suggest that this dye was more commonly used, although its price, while fluctuating significantly, was several times higher.

TABLE 1: Prices of *inzaḥurētu*-dye known from the texts from Sippar and Uruk⁹⁰

Text	Total amount of dye (in shekels)	Total amount of silver paid for dye (in shekels)	Amount of dye (in shekels) for 1 shekel of silver	Date
BIN 1, 162: 7–8	150	10	15	3.8.Nbk 31
GC 1, 211: 1	20	1	20	22.2.Nbk 35
BM 73111: 1–2	3655	130	ca. 28,1	28.4.Nbn 4
YOS 6, 168: 2–3	4880	122	40	7.7.Nbn 6
YOS 6, 168: 13–14	1940	48.5	40	7.7.Nbn 6
PTS 2098: 9–10 ⁹¹	1940	48.5	40	7.7.Nbn 6
Nbn 428: 8	2475	50	49.5	10.5.Nbn 10
Nbn 538: 1–2	1800	50	36	6.7.Nbn 11

⁸⁷ The passage in question is beautifully preserved and the reading is certain (the copy of the tablet will be published by R. Tarasewicz, who kindly gave me the access to his transliteration and copy (to be published in his review of B. Janković's book). Most probably the scribe wrote *ma-na* instead of GÚ! UN!

⁸⁸ GC 2, 105: 3–4 and YOS 19, 271: 4 (SÍG.ĤĒ.ME.DA *ša in-za-ḥu-re-e-tu₄*); GC 2, 121: 2, 7, 11–12 (SÍG.ĤĒ.ME.DA *ša in-za-ḥu-re-e-ti*); YOS 7, 183: 4, 24, 27,32 (SÍG.ĤĒ.ME.DA *ša in-za-ḥu-re-e-ti*); YOS 17, 301: 4 (SÍG.ĤĒ.ME.DA *ša in-za-ḥu-re-e-ti*); YOS 19, 270: 4 (SÍG.ĤĒ.ME.DA *ša in-za-ḥu-re-e-<ti>*). The determinative *ú* sometimes preceding *inzaḥurētu* speaks for its production from a plant. OPPENHEIM 1967, p. 242 suggests identifying *inzaḥurētu* with woad (*Isatis tinctoria*).

⁸⁹ BM 79222: 2 suggests that *pilū* colour was similar to *inzaḥurētu* colour (4½ minas of *inzaḥurētu* wool including half mina of light red (*ina lib-bi mi-šil pi-lu-ú*)).

⁹⁰ The texts published previously were already cited by MEISSNER, *Warenpreise*, p. 32.

⁹¹ OPPENHEIM 1967, p. 236.

Nbn 214: 2	1080	31	ca. 35	[Cyr/Camb] 5
Cam 11: 1–2	120	2	60	12.10.Camb 0
BM 69003, rev. 8'	750	30	25	19.7.Nbk IV
BM 61226: 1–2	1200	22.5	53.3	[x].4.Dar x+2
BM 62552: 12	20	5	4	ʾ24ʾ.2.Dar ʾ8ʾ
Dar 516: 13–14	3600	60?	60?	Dar 20
CT 57, 255: 7–8	600	10	60	<->1. Dar [x]
CT 55, 350: 6–7	104	3.5	ca. 30	[Dar x]
BM 60847: 3	21	3	6.3	3.10.Dar 26
BIN 1, 4: 6–7	3600	90	40	—

The least frequently used dye was *argamannu*, which was also red and probably produced a shade of blue-purple,⁹² although different from that of *takiltu*.⁹³ Interesting information concerning *argamannu* colour is to be found in BM 62788, rev. 9'–10 and 12–13.⁹⁴ Thanks to this text we know that two ways of obtaining such a colour were known: by using *kasû*-plant,⁹⁵ grown in Mesopotamia,⁹⁶ or by using a mineral dye called *ḥaṭḥūru*, which had to be pulverised. However, according to another recipe (rev. 6–8) *ḥaṭḥūru*-dye was also used in obtaining *takiltu* colour, therefore to obtain the appropriate colour the important thing was not only the kind of dye, but also other ingredients and the technological process itself. Because the etymology suggests that *argamannu* was an imported word,⁹⁷ the connection of its name with the imported dye *ḥaṭḥūru* seems probable. The price of *argamannu* wool, attested in only two texts, is comparatively high. In CT 55, 360 (26.6. <Nbp/Nbk> 14), $4\frac{2}{3}$ shekels of *argamannu* is worth 1 shekel of silver. The price in BIN 1, 4: 10–11 is similar: a mina of *argamannu* is worth 15 shekels, i.e. a shekel of silver would buy 4 shekels of *argamannu*. It seems that in both cases the colour was obtained using the imported, considerably more expensive *ḥaṭḥūru* rather than the native Mesopotamian easy to obtain *kasû*-plant.

⁹² Translated in CAD A II 253a as “red purple wool.”

⁹³ Which may be inferred from the letter ABL 1283, rev. 6 (*ta-kil-ti u* ^{sig}*ār-ga-man-nu*) and from the Neo-Assyrian annals (^{sig}*ta-kil-ti u* ^{sig}*ār-ga-man-nu*) quoted in CAD A II 253 b.

⁹⁴ LEICHTY 1979. I. Finkel informed me kindly that he has identified a new fragment of the same tablet and that a new edition of the text with an extensive discussion will be published.

⁹⁵ The identification of *kasû* has been the subject of much discussion, see GELLER 2000, pp. 409–412 with a summary of earlier literature.

⁹⁶ The importance of *kasû* in the Mesopotamian diet and economy is suggested by the regular observation of its price in the astronomical diaries; see SLOTSKY 1997, pp. 31–34, 50, 55, 59 f., 73 and VARGYAS 2001, pp. 187–207. Concerning the cultivation of *kasû* in Sippar, see JURSA, AfO Beih. 25, p. 178.

⁹⁷ ZIMMERN, *Fremdwörter*, p. 37.

There is relatively little evidence for the use of other dyes. In VS 6, 16, *hašhūru* wool (apple-coloured) and SÍG.Ú.MA.IŠ wool (an unknown colour) are mentioned; we know them also from two other texts.⁹⁸ Both types were about five times more expensive than undyed wool, although still much less than *tabarru* and *takiltu* wool. Since imported products were used to dye *tabarru* and *takiltu*, we may surmise that *hašhūru* and SÍG.Ú.MA.IŠ were cheaper since local Mesopotamian products were used to make them. A *hašartu* wool (green), whose name so far appears only in two texts,⁹⁹ was apparently also made from local ingredients. No other colours of wool and linen are mentioned, perhaps because the texts principally concern the making of the gods' garments, for which imported dyes were used as these were considered purer and produced a lasting colour. The ordinary people of Mesopotamia had to use local products which were cheap but probably did not produce such a lasting and uniform colouring.

Thus, the price of dyed wool depended primarily on that of the dyes. The following text records annual stock-taking of dyed wool supplies, although it is not certain whether it lists the actual amounts of *takiltu* wool owned at the specified dates given or the amounts consumed during subsequent years.

Alum (^{na}₄*gabû*) was a mineral product required as a mordant in the process of dyeing; it was imported from outside Mesopotamia. The texts from Aššur indicate that it came from Asia Minor ("Hatti"),¹⁰⁰ while in Neo-Babylonian texts there are several mentions of ^{kur/uru}*Kašappu*¹⁰¹ and even more attestations of Egypt as a source.¹⁰² Alum is usually mentioned along with *inzaḥurētu* in the texts, but we cannot be sure whether the approximate ratio of 1 unit of *gabû* per 2 units of *inzaḥurētu* was a fixed one or merely accidental. Furthermore, we do not know what amounts of the two ingredients were used for dyeing wool, since very few texts mention any details.

⁹⁸ BM 49580: 5–6 (^{sig}*haš-hu-ru*/[<]SÍG>.ÌR.Ú.MA.MI.ÍŠ¹) and BM 78914: 5 (^{sig}*haš-hur* ù SÍG.ÌR.Ú.MA.MI.ÍŠ). BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 309 suggested reading *hašhuru* also in Cam 4: 8 (adding, however, a question mark and exclamation mark). SÍG.AD.DA in ll. 4 and 8 of Strassmaier copy have to be read SÍG.ĤĖ*.ME*.DA (collated).

⁹⁹ ZA 4, 145, Nbp 18 and CT 57, 278, cited already by BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 309.

¹⁰⁰ KAR 60, r. 7 (cf. *RAcc*, p. 4: 24).

¹⁰¹ YOS 3, 14: 8 (2 kùr); YOS 19, 287: 2 (20 kùr); CT 57, 255: 30 and BM 65103: 5 (ZAWADZKI, *WZKM* 90, p. 220).

¹⁰² CT 55, 363 and BM 63984 (BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 309, n. 286); Nbn 214: 3; TCL 12, 84: 5. Add also BM 72840: 2.

TABLE 2: The *inzaḥurētu* and *gabû* in the texts from Sippar

Text	Total amount of <i>inzaḥurētu</i> (in shekels)	Total amount of <i>gabû</i> (in shekels)	Proportion of <i>inzaḥurētu</i> to <i>gabû</i>	Date
CT 55, 362	540	270 ¹⁰³	2 : 1	12.9.Nbn 9
Nbn 794	11	10	1.1 : 1 ¹⁰⁴	5.7.Nbn 14
BM 63941	120	60	2 : 1	13.8.Nbn 15
BM 79348	120	60	2 : 1	27 – Nbn -
BM 64013	1200	480	2.5 : 1	23.11.Camb O
BM 74484: 5–6	1200	480	2.5 : 1	3.1. Camb 4
BM 74484: 8–9	300	150	2 : 1	3.1. Camb 4
CT 55, 363	540	180 <i>Mišir</i>	3 : 1	1'5?'.12.Dar 26
BM 64099	70	30	2.3 : 1	5.5 Dar 28

TABLE 3: Prices of *gabû*

Text	Total amount of <i>gabû</i> (in shekels)	Price in shekels of silver	Amount of <i>gabû</i> for one shekel of silver	Data
GC 1, 327: 1–2	90	1	90	28.6.Nbn 5
YOS 6, 168: 11–12	13980	77 ² / ₃	180	7.6 Nbn 6
PTS 2098: 7–8	13980	77 ² / ₃	180	7.7.Nbn 6
CT 55, 862: 3–4	2520	19	133	10.4.Nbn 8
CT 55, 364: 4–5	540	6	90	11.5.Nbn [12][+x?]
Nbn 214: 3	600	12	50	[Cyr/Cam] 5

Several texts give the impression that what was dyed was not the wool or linen yarn but the finished garment.¹⁰⁵ However, there are other texts in

¹⁰³ I read 4¹/₂! *ma-na*.

¹⁰⁴ Note the proportion 1:1 of *dimurû* (dye?) to *gabû* in Cam 156 for the dyeing of *paršīgu* (SĪG.BAR.SI) of Šamaš and Bunene.

¹⁰⁵ See, for example, BM 64099 (alum and *inzaḥurētu* dye *ana pān mušē ša Šamaš*); BM 83668 (wool, *inzaḥurētu* dye and alum *ana nēbeḥu ša Anunītu*); Nbn 794 (*inzaḥurētu*-dye, alum and *takiltu* wool *ana nēbeḥu ša Anunītu*); Nbn 1061 (silver for alum for dying *lubāru ša Anunītu*, and *kusātu* and *naḥlaptu ša mārāt Ebabbar*).

which *tabarru* wool is mentioned along with *inzaḥurētu* and alum,¹⁰⁶ which leads to the conclusion that the former documents merely applied a terse bureaucratic style and in fact they too concerned the dyeing of yarn rather than finished garments. To support this argument, let us quote texts which concern the dyeing of the yarn (*ṭīmu* or *ṭīmītu*) for specific garments.¹⁰⁷ There are virtually no data on the organisation of the process of dyeing. Only in BM 99891 (21.-Nbn -) are dyeing vats (*naṣraptu*) mentioned; these were used for producing the colour of *takiltu*.¹⁰⁸

In the light of the above data on the dyes and the alum used for dyeing, the high price of dyed wool is not surprising.

¹⁰⁶ See BM 79348 (*inzaḥurētu*-dye and alum and [x mina(s)] of *tabarru* wool *ana naḥlaptu* of Aya); BM 54922 (alum and *inzaḥurētu* dye *ana ṣīpi ša tabarru ša kusītu* of Aya, “for dying (for) *tabarru* colour for the *kusītu* of Aya).

¹⁰⁷ BM 61762: 13 (five shekels of *tabarru* wool, the weight of *ṭīmu*-yarn for *lubār qablu* of Anunītu); BM 60803: 1–2 ^{sig}*ṭīme ša pišanni ana ṣīpi, ṭīmu*-yarn for (making) *pišannu* (given for) dying, and l. 8–10 (silver for alum *ana ṣīpi ša ṭīme ša pišanni*, “for dying of the *ṭīmu*-yarn for *pišannu*-bag); BM 74670 (*kitinnū, ḥūratu* and 1 *qa* alum *ana ṭīmētu ša Anunītu*). The following texts concern rather yarn ready for use or dyed wool for its preparation: BM 63912 = Bertin 1584 (55 shekels of *ṭīmētu* for GADA *pišannu*); BM 83776: 3’ (*ṭīmētu*; fragment of text mentioning garments of Anunītu); CT 44, 73: 22 (10 GÍN KIL.LAL *ṭi-me-tu₄ šá šá-pe-e šá ku-si-tu₄ šá^d A-a SÍG.ĪĒ.ME.DA*, “0 shekels, the weight of yarn for thick woven *kusītu* of Aya, of red wool.”); BM 75767: 7–10 2 GÍN *ta-kil-tu₄ a-na ṭi-me-tu₄ a-na šá-pe-e šá TÚG.ĪI.A me-ṭu ù TÚG.ĪI.A ku-lu-lu šá^d A-nu-ni-tu₄*, “2 shekels of blue-purple wool for *ṭīmētu*-yarn for thick (woven) *lubār mēṭu* (and) *lubār kulūlu* of Anunītu; Cam 24 (5 minas of wool *a-na ṭi-mi-i-tu₄ šá pi-ša-an-na* of *bīt Šarrat Sippar*). Cam 158: 1–2 5 GÍN SÍG.ZA.GÍN.KUR.RA *a-na ṭi-mu ša TÚG.ĪI.A me-e-ṭi* TÚG.ĪI.A^r ku*-lu*1-[lu] ù e-ri šá^d A-nu-ni-tu₄*), “5 shekels of blue-purple wool for *ṭīmu*-yarn for making *lubār mēṭu*, *lubār kulūlu* and (*lubār*) *erru* for Anunītu.

¹⁰⁸ Lines 1–5: [x-ta n]a-aṣ-rap-tu₄ [x x GÍN] ²SÍG.ZA.GÍN.KUR.RA [x x] ³2-tu₄ [n]a-aṣ-rap-tu₄.⁴50 GÍN SÍG.ZA.GÍN.KUR.RA [x x] ⁵r2¹-tu₄ na-aṣ-r[ap-tu₄]

TABLE 4: Prices of coloured wool¹⁰⁹

Text	Amount of wool (in shekels) and colour	Total (in shekels of sil- ver)	Average amount of wool in shek- els for 1 shekel of silver	Date
VS 6, 16: 6–11	3288.5 ¹¹⁰ of <i>tabarru</i> , <i>takiltu</i> , <i>ḥašḥūru</i> and SÍG.Ú.MA.<MI>.IŠ	657.75	ca. 5 ¹¹¹	23.2.Nbp 20
VS 6, 16: 13–15	690 of <i>ḥašḥūru</i> and SÍG.Ú.MA.<MI>.IŠ	11.5	60	23.2.Nbp 20
VS 6, 16: 20	1110 [of <i>tabarru</i>] ¹¹²	222	5	23.2.Nbp 20
YOS 6, 168: 5	975 of <i>takiltu</i>	160	ca. 6.1	7.7 Nbn 6
CT 55, 868	550 of <i>takiltu</i>	57	9,6	20.6.Nbn 7
CT 55, 862	120 of SÍG.SAG	24	5,0	10. 4. Nbn 8
Nbn 410: 7–8	18 of <i>tabarru</i>	4.5	4	15.2.Nbn 10
BM 74479	450 of <i>tabarru</i>	30	15	20.8.Nbn 10
Nbn 785	140	72	ca. 2.0	13.6.Nbn 14
Nbn 1029	65 of <i>tabarru</i>	6	ca. 10.8	1.[x].Nbn 17
Nbn 1101	16 of <i>takiltu</i>	2.75	ca. 5.8	4.7.Nbn [x]
Cyr 4	20 of <i>nabāsu</i>	2?	10	24.9.Cyr 0
BM 75676	14 of <i>takiltu</i>	3.5	4	3.[x]. Dar 34

The above texts demonstrate that the price of dyed wool varied substantially, from 4 to 15 shekels per 1 shekel of silver; even at its lowest price (that in BM 74479 = Bertin 1396), dyed wool was twenty times more expensive than the raw product.

¹⁰⁹ Most of the data gathered here were discussed by MEISSNER, *Warenpreise*, pp. 24–25.

¹¹⁰ In comparison with Ungnad's copy in l. 6 and in l. 20, the fraction $\frac{5}{6}$ *ma-na* is emended in NRV 735 to $\frac{3}{4}$! *ma-na* because only then is the result of division accurate.

¹¹¹ This conforms to the norm stated in l. 10: *ki-i pi-i 5-a₄*, which means “accordingly 5 (shekels of wool) for each (shekels of silver). However, because it is known from lines 13–15 of this text that the price of *ḥašḥūru* and SÍG.Ú.MA.<MI>.IŠ wool was much cheaper in comparison with *tabarru* and *takiltu* wool, the quota of *ḥašḥūru* and SÍG.Ú.MA.<MI>.IŠ wool in the total sum of 3288.5 shekels must be quite small. Cf. however, the commentary following BM 78914 (Part 2).

¹¹² Though the kind of wool is unknown because l. 17 is broken, the price of 5 shekels for 1 shekel of silver indicates that the *tabaru* and/or *takiltu* wool must be meant.

The price of dyeing was the most important factor influencing the price of dyed wool and linen; it is no surprise that the quantity of such wool was strictly controlled. The state of preservation of BM 101905 makes it impossible to determine whether this “summary text” included the data concerning the wool left over or the wool used for the manufacturing of garments each year.

BM 101905 (83-1-21, 3566)

4.8 × 5.5 cm

(Dar 8)

1. [x *ma-na* SÍG.ZA.GÌN].¹KUR.RA¹
 2. [šá MU.3.KÁM šá ^m*Da-ri*]-¹*mu*¹šú LUGAL.KUR.KUR
 3. [x *ma-na*] SÍG.ZA.GÌN.KUR.RA
 4. [šá] MU.4.KÁM
 5. [x *ma-n*]_a SÍG.ZA.GÌN.KUR.RA
 6. ¹šá¹ MU.5.KÁM
 7. [x+] 1½ *ma-na* SÍG.ZA.GÌN.KUR.RA
 8. šá MU.6.KÁM
- Rev.
9. [x *ma-na*] ⅓ GÍN SÍG.ZA.GÌN.KUR.RA
 10. šá MU.7.KÁM
(erased line with three vertical wedge preserved at the end)
 12. [x *ma*]-*na* SÍG.ĪI.A
 13. [u SÍG.ZA.GÌN.K]UR.RA *ir-bi*
 14. [(...)] ¹šá¹ MU.8.KÁM

[x minas of the *taki*]*ltu* wool [of the third year of Dari]us, king of [the lands;
[x minas] of the *takiltu* wool [of] the fourth year;
[x min]as of the *takiltu* wool of the fifth year;
[x+] 1½ minas of *takiltu* wool of the sixth year;
[x+] 20 shekels of *takiltu* wool of the seventh year;
[x mi]nas of wool [and *taki*]*ltu* wool, the income [(...)] of the eighth year.

Abundant data on the importing of dyes proves conclusively that the great majority of the wool required by the temple was prepared on its premises. In some cases, at least at the Eanna temple in Uruk, *takiltu* wool was imported from Syria (*ēbir nāri*) along with such products as wine, honey, tin, bronze, and iron (YOS 7, 63).¹¹³ Another indication of the high price of

¹¹³ Cf. NUVI 2, 127.

dyed wool is the fact that occasionally the ruler himself donated it to the temple.¹¹⁴

The analysis of the prices of materials used for the production of garments is important also because the texts do not give much information about the price of cultic garments since they were not destined for sale.

¹¹⁴ CT 55, 865: 1–2 ([x] GÍN SÍG.ZA.GÌN.KUR.RA *ul-tu* SÍG.ZA.GÌN.KUR.RA *ša* LUGAL).

IV. THE TEXTILE CRAFTSMEN

1. Terminology: *ginû/sattukku*, *pappasu*, *maššartu*, *kurummatu*

Garments for the gods were typically manufactured by prebendaries and also by non-prebendary craftsmen whom the temple supplied with the necessary material. Wool or linen used directly for the making of the garments is called *ginû* or *sattukku*. The two terms are synonymous and literally mean “regular offering,” but in the context of prebends their meaning is somehow broader as they denote both the material required for preparing the sacrifices offered during the rites (cereals, meat, and beverages) and the various accessories used at the offerings (chalices, bowls, jars and various other containers, censers, jewellery, and vestments). Although studies have confirmed that the two terms are indeed synonyms, they have also established that the former was used in an earlier period, and that the change took place at the very beginning of Nebuchadnezzar II’s reign.¹¹⁵ This is evidenced by the titles of the *rehi ginê/sattukki* herdsmen, and further documented by data from the textile industry: all the texts available to this study in which the word *ginû* appears are dated to Nabopolassar’s reign.¹¹⁶

The prebendary usually received remuneration for his work in the form of the product from which he was to make the *ginû* or *sattukku*. The quantity of the given product was called the *pappasu*, which is translated as “the prebendary’s income.”¹¹⁷ It was common practice to issue the “prebendary income” in the form of a product other than the one referred to as the *ginû/sattukku*, i.e. barley, dates or silver.

The total product allotted for both *sattukku* and *pappasu* is called the *maššartu*. Bongenaar correctly points out that the term *maššartu* “is found only in connection with the prebendary bakers and brewers” (p. 144), but he does not attempt to explain this fact. And yet, there is a textile industry document, which speaks of dates *ina ʾmašʾ-šar-tu₄ šá ITI.GAN a-na ʾmŠil-la-a ʾlúTÚG.BABBAR*.¹¹⁸ What the text proves, however, is merely that the term *maššartu* was used very seldom. This was probably because, unlike

¹¹⁵ Opinion is based on the texts with preserved data and on prosopographic criteria. The exception was the family name *Šāhit-ginê*, in which the second element *ginê* or *sattukki* was used interchangeably in later periods as well. Occasionally also offerings from animals are described with the term *ginû* also in the later time (e.g. Cyr 125: 4; attention to this text I owe to R. Tarasewicz).

¹¹⁶ BM 49669 (Nbp 13); BM 50623 (Nbp 13); BM 50449 (dated to the end of Nabopolassar’s or the very beginning of Nebuchadnezzar’s reign because of the mention of Nabû-bêl-šumāti and the form of the document, which was used only during that period).

¹¹⁷ The data concerning wool issued to the prebendary weavers as *sattukku*, *pappasu* and *maššartu* were discussed by MACGINNIS, *Letter Orders*, pp. 140ff., BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 302ff. and JURSA, *Archiv*, pp. 57ff.

¹¹⁸ BM 65007: 5 (30.7.<Nbk> 38).

the bakers and the brewers, prebendary weavers only rarely received the total amount of the product.¹¹⁹ In some texts the issued dates, wool or silver is destined for *sattukku*¹²⁰ or *pappasu*¹²¹ alone, but in hundreds of texts we are informed that the wool is issued (as discussed above) for manufacturing garments for the *lubuštu* ceremony. In this latter group of texts we are never told whether wool was destined for manufacturing garments *alone*, or whether part of it was for the prebendary as his *pappasu*. From a few texts including the term *sattukku* it appears that wool was issued about one month before the date of the *lubuštu* ceremony for which the garments were destined.¹²² The *pappasu* could be issued for a period of two months (Nbn 908, for Kislīmu–Ṭebētu, issued in the middle of the first month), three months (BM 63882 = Bertin 1294, for Simānu, Du’uzu and Abu, issued in the last month) or (most typically) for one month. In the latter case the material is issued during the month in which the garments were due (CT 56, 244, Cam 70, BM 60394). According to the rather rare texts the *pappasu* was issued before carrying out the assignment (CT 57, 168, in Addaru Nbn 1’5¹ for Nisannu Nbn 16, silver; Cyr 296, in Nisannu Cyr 8 for Ayaru, silver; BM 74479 (= Bertin 1396): 1–6, in Araḥsamna Nbn 10 for Ayaru of the next year, wool). In the last one the advance payment is

¹¹⁹ Only two such texts are known to me, i.e. CT 55, 756 (wool issued in the month Tašrītu for the *lubuštu* Araḥsamna) and CT 55, 829 (wool issued in the month Abu for *lubuštu* Ulūlu). Wool for *sattukku* and *pappasu* is probably mentioned also in BM 74479: 1–2 (= Bertin 1396), although only the term *pappasu* appears in l. 2. However, the proportion 2:1 suggests that the amount from line 1 is *pappasu* and that from line 2 *sattukku*, i.e. that the term *pappasu* is written in wrong place.

¹²⁰ BM 65976 (3.3.[Nbk]19); BM 66460 (10.7.Nbn 3); BM 60445 = Str. II 351/4 (10.5.Nbn 7); BM 66810 (20+[x].5.Nbn [x]).

¹²¹ Nbn 27 (27.2.Nbn 1); Nbn 41 ([x.x.Nbn] 1); CT 57, 748 (1’4.6.Nbn 2); CT 57, 314 (18.6.Nbn 5); CT 57, 164 (8.7.Nbn 5); BM 60394 = Str. II 347/1 (11.5.Nbn 7); Nbn 285 (22.2.Nbn 8); Nbn 302 (10.6.Nbn 8); Nbn 284 (not before Abu, Nbn 9); Nbn 465 (18.10.Nbn 10); Nbn 544 (9.8.Nbn 11); Nbn 588 ([x].1.Nbn 12); BM 63959 = Bertin 1494 (9.8. Nbn 12); Nbn 676 (12.12. Nbn 12); Nbn 705 (2.3.Nbn 13); BM 63882 = Bertin 1294 (3.5.Nbn [1]4); Nbn 783 (11.6.Nbn 14); CT 56, 244 (24.10. Nbn 14); CT 57, 708 (8.[x].Nbn 14); Nbn 898 (21.8.Nbn15); Nbn 908 (16.9.Nbn 15); CT 57, 168 (19.12.Nbn 1’5’¹); BM 63981 = Bertin 1636 (21.2.Nbn 17); CT 56, 310 (24.[x].Nbn [x]); CT 56, 323 (6.4 [Nbn x]); CT 57, 782 ([x].9.Nbn [x]); CT 57, 697 (2.8.Cyr 0); CT 57, 94 ([x+?] 9.10.Cyr 2); CT 57, 344 (25.5.Cyr 6); BM 74459 = Bertin 1808 (10.’5¹.Camb 1); Cam 70 (6.8.Camb 1); Cam 128 (1.9.Camb 2); Cam 243 (21.6.Camb 4); Dar 109 (16.1.Dar 4); CT 57, 132 (26.10.Dar 14); BM 64555 (= *Letter Order* no. 35) (25.10.Dar 20); CT 57, 255 ([x].1.Dar [x]).

¹²² BM 60445 (for *dullu*, i.e. for the *lubuštu* ceremony in the month of Tašrītu, *elat sattukku* IGI-*tu*₄; date of issue of wool: month of Abu); BM 66460 (wool for *sattukku*, i.e. for the *lubuštu* ceremony in the month of Araḥsamna; date of issue of wool: month of Tašrītu); CT 55, 756 (*sattukku* and *pappasu* for the month of Araḥsamna; date of issue: month of Tašrītu); Nbn 952 (*reḥi sattukku* for the month of Ayaru; month of issue: month of Nisannu); CT 55, 829 (wool for *sattukku* and *pappasu* for the month of Ulūlu; date of issue of wool: month of Abu); CT 57, 719 ([wool?] for *sattukku* of the month Abu; date of issue: month Nisannu).

made six months before the delivery date, which might be due to the fact that a substitute contractor (*ēpišānu*) had been employed; he perhaps agreed to undertake the assignment provided that the remuneration be paid at this earlier date. From the texts specifying the relevant data, we can infer that usually the material for garments (*sattukku*) and remuneration in kind (*pappasu*) was issued on separate occasions. Reasons for this policy are not clear but it might have been intended as an incentive for the punctual delivery of the assignments. It is also possible, that with different issue dates for *sattukku* and *pappasu*, the temple's administration might have been able to issue the *pappasu* in a material of an inferior quality. Although the data are too scarce to warrant firm conclusions, one might ask if the policy of issuing the products on separate days did not offer the temple's administration an opportunity for delaying payments to prebendaries. The scanty data quoted here demonstrates that wool for the *ginû/sattukku* was always issued on time (since otherwise religious services could be disrupted), but that the *pappasu* was occasionally issued after the scheduled day. Still, we may safely assume that if the term *maššartu* is not encountered in the texts it is because the *sattukku* and the *pappasu* products were issued on separate occasions.

Previous studies of the prebendary system have not managed to ascertain what portion of the *maššartu* was allocated for the *ginû/sattukku*, and what portion for the *pappasu*. Luckily, there are now two documents, which provide a detailed explanation concerning weavers.

BM 50449 (82-3-23, 1440)

4.8 × 3.1 cm

1. 24 *ma-na* $\frac{1}{3}$ 3 GÍN SÍG.ĤÉ.ME.DA
2. ù SÍG.ʽZA¹.GÌN.<KUR>.RA *gi-nu-ú*
3. 12 *ma-na* $11\frac{1}{2}$ GÍN *pap-pa-su*
4. PAP.PAP 36 $\frac{1}{2}$ *ma-na* 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ GÍN *ta-bar-[ri]*
5. ù *ta-kil-ti gi-nu-ú* u *pap-pa-[su]*
6. šá kal MU.AN.NA a-ʽna¹ 5 *tu*₈-[*un-šá-nu*]
7. 8 *ma-na* 19 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR-šú

8. [x] GÚ.UN 2 $\frac{2}{3}$ *ma-na* KÍ.LAL *tu*₈-un-[*šá-nu*]

9. n]a ʽ6¹ GÍN *ma-[hîr]*

Rest lost

- Rev. 1'. [x] ʽx x x x¹ [...
 2'. [ku]-mu *pu-su* u *haš-h[u-ru ...*
 3'. [ndA]G-EN-MU.MEŠ ʽma¹-[*hîr ...*
 4'. [x] GÚ.UN 34 *ma-na* ʽta¹-[*bar-ri*]
 5'. [u *ta*]-kil-ti *gi-nu-ú* u *pap-[pa-su]*

- 6'. šá¹⁵¹ *tu-un-šá-nu* 18^{2/3} *ma-na* ¹a¹-[*na*]
 7'. 16 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠÁM 8 *ma-na* 8 GÍ[N]
 8'. 10 TÚG GADA.ḪAŠḪUR *gi-nu-ú u pap-pa-su a-na* ¹x¹ [...
 9'. PAP.PAP 19 *ma-na* 4 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR-šú x (erased)

Edge 10'. PAP.PAP 26 *ma-na* ¹/₃ 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR-šú!
 11'. 10 *ma-na ina* ŠÁM *tu₈-un-šá-nu it-ta-š[i]*

L.h.e.12'.] ¹/₃ 3 GÍN
 13'. -¹me¹ or š[i] or BAR

24 minas 23 shekels of *tabarru* and *takiltu* wool (for) *ginû* offering;
 12 minas 11¹/₂ shekels – for the prebendary income, total 36 minas
 34¹/₂ shekels of *tabarru* and *takiltu* wool, (for) *ginû* and prebendary
 income for the whole year for five *tunšānu* garments; 8 minas 19
 shekels is its silver value.

[x] talents 2 minas forty shekels, the weight of *tunšānu* garments
 min]a(s) 6 shekels has rece[ived instead of white
 and apple-coloured Nabû-bêl-šumāti has rece[ived[x] tal-
 ents 34 minas of *ta*[*barru* and *ta*]kiltu wool, (for) *ginû* offerings
 and prebendary income for of two *tunšānu*. 18²/₃ minas 16
 shekels of silver, the price of 8 minas 9 shekels, grand total 26 mi-
 nas 23 shekels of silver *ginû* and prebendary income for, total
 19 minas 4 shekels is its value in silver; grand total 26 minas 23
 shekels is its value in silver, including 10 minas as the price of
tunšānu has been brought23 shekels

We deduce from the text that two-thirds of the total material issued to the
 prebendary (probably the same Nabû-bêl-šumāti who is also mentioned
 below) were allotted for the making of the garments, and the remaining
 one-third was given to him as his remuneration (*pappasu*).

A similar text, in which first the total amount of *tabarru* and *takiltu*
 wool for the *sattukku* (replacing the term *ginû* used in the earlier texts) and
 then the *pappasu* is specified, is BM 73181. Probably as in the previous
 document, the value of both kinds of dyed wool was converted into silver
 and, as in another document, BM 50392, the text was followed by specifi-
 cation of the amount of dyed wool used for the garments of particular gods.
 It is a pity that the poor condition of the tablet (and especially of the nu-
 merals) makes further deductions impossible.

BM 73181 (82-9-18, 13192)

6.2 × 6.0 cm

1'. ^ra-na <ITI>.GUD MU.22.KÁM ^{rmd}AG-NÍG.DU-ÙRU'
 2'. LUGAL E.KI

3'. 16 *ma-na ta-bar-ri ù ta-kil-ti*
 4'. [gi]-*nu-ú u pap-pa-su*
 5'. [x *ma-n*]a 13 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR-šú
 6'. [x *ma-n*]a 4 GÍN *ta-bar-ri <ù> ta-<kil>-ti*
 7'. [x x]-^rnu¹-*ti sat-tuk <u> pap-pa-su šá ITI.KIN*
 8'. [x *ma-n*]a 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR-šú
 9'. [x x x] ^rx¹ *ta-kil-ti*
 10'. [x x x] ^ra-na¹ ^dBu-ne-ne
 11'. [^dx ^dx] ^rd¹IM *sat-tuk u pap-pa-su*
 12'. [x x x x] ^ršú⁷¹ [...]

Rev. 1'. [.....]-GI
 2'. [.....] ^{2/3}ma-^rna¹ KÙ.BABBAR
 3'. [.....x *ma*]-^rna 52¹ 1/2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR-šú
 4'. [.....] *in-za-ḥu-re-e-ti*
 5'. [.....]-^rx¹.SU ^mA-a ^{md}UTU-MU
 6'. [.....]-AMAR.UTU *ma-ḥir-u'*
 7'. [.....] ^{md}AG-NUMUN-GÁL ^ši *ma-ḥir*
 8'. [.....] ^r2-ta ŠU^{ii.meš}1 *šá 4 TUG.ḪI.A.MEŠ*
 9'. [.....] ^rx¹-DINGIR
 10'. [..... *m*]a-na SÍG.ḪI.A a-na 3^{1/2} *ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR
 11'. [.....] ^rGÍN¹ KÙ.BABBAR-šú ^{md}UTU-NUMUN-
^rGÁL ^ši¹

Obl. 1. 9'. The first partly preserved sign was intentionally erased.

[...] for the month of Ayaru, twenty-second year of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

16 minas of *tabarru* and *takiltu* wool, [gi]nû and *pappasu*; its silver (value) is [x mi]na(s) 13 shekels;

[x min]as 4 shekels of *tabarru* <and> *takiltu* wool, [...] ... *sattuku* <and> *pappasu* for the month of Ulûlu; its silver (value) is [x] mina(s) 3 shekels;

[x minas of] *takiltu* [for] for Bunene [and for ..., for] Adad; the *sattukku* and *pappassu*; its silver (value) is x].

....-GI/gi two-thirds of mina of silver[x mi]na 52^{1/2} shekels of silver (is) its value.

...inzaḥurêtu-dye ...-SU/su, Apla, Šamaš-iddin [x]-Marduk received ...

.... Šamaš-zēr-ušabši received.

..... two-thirds for 4 *lubāru*-garments [...] -ili [... x mi]nas of wool for 3½ minas of silver [...] shekels (is) its value Šamaš-zēr-ušabši [.....

The ratio between the *sattukku* and the *pappasu*, as deduced from BM 50449 (see above), is supported by BM 50392.

BM 50392 (82-3-23, 1383)

6.7 × 3.8 cm

1. $\frac{2}{3}$ *ma-na* 5 GÍN SÍG.ZA.GÌN.<KUR>.RA
2. *ša* ^{túg}[*lu-b*]a-ri ku-lu-lu lu-ba-ri me-ṭu
3. *ša* ^d[UT]U gi-nu-ú $\frac{1}{2}$ *ma-na* <*dul-lu*> gam-ru i-nam-din
4. $\frac{1}{2}$ *ma-na* 5¹ GÍN ta-bar-ri
5. [^{túg}*lu-ba-r*]i ku-lu-lu ù 2 par-ši-ga
6. ¹*ša* ^dA-a¹ gi-nu-ú $\frac{1}{2}$ *ma-na*
7. [<*dul-lu*> gam-ru] ¹i-nam¹-din
8. [x x x ^dB]u-ne-[ne]

45 shekels of *takiltu* wool for the *lubār kulūlu* (and) *lubār mēṭu* of [Šam]aš. (As) the *ginū* 30 shekels, the <finished> work he will give.

45 shekels of *tabarru* wool for the [*lubā*]r *kulūlu* (and) 2 *paršīgus* for Aya. (As) the *ginū* 30 shekels, the <finished> work he will give. [.....] of [B]une[ne] (?)

It is not clear to what the amount of 8 minas 19 shekels specified in BM 50449: 7 and described as “his silver” refers; it may be the value of either the total of the *takiltu* and *tabarru* wool issued to the prebendary or only a portion thereof, i.e. the *pappasu*. The latter is hardly possible, since it would mean that 12 minas 11½ shekels of dyed wool were worth 7 minas 19 shekels of silver, or that 1 shekel of silver bought 1⅔ shekels of this highly prized wool, which would indeed be an exorbitant price. If, however, it was the value of the total wool (the *ginū* + the *pappasu*), then the ratio would be 1 shekel of silver per approximately 5 shekels of wool. This interpretation is confirmed by a comparison with other texts where the prices vary considerably, but are at the level of 5 shekels of *tabarru* and/or *takiltu* wool per shekel of silver.

The term *kurummatu* denotes the food rations issued to the temple’s non-prebendary personnel, including the non-prebendary weavers. Bongenaar observes, however, that the term was also used in the context of the prebendary weavers’ activity, where it denoted the part of a prebendary’s income issued to his subordinates.¹²³ The use of the term *kurummatu* in-

¹²³ BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 311.

stead of *pappasu* is in my opinion justifiable because the function of the *pappasu* is in fact the same as *kurummatu*, i.e. it is a payment for the work which has been or will be carried out. Additionally, many texts clearly state that *kurummatu* was issued from the *pappasu* of the master.¹²⁴ As similar usage occurs in BM 101416: 6–7, in which it is stated that [Nabû]-nāšir-apli and Bakûa received wool for the *lubuštu* ceremony of Nisannu (amount broken) [*ina libb*]i 12 *mana šipāti ša ana mu[hhi Nabû]-nāšir-apli ina kurummati išparūtu*!, “in it 12 minas of wool on account of Nabû-nāšir-apli from (his) income of weaver’s prebend.”¹²⁵ It is interesting to note that the term *kurummatu* is used only when the prebendary and his weaver-slave(s) or only his slave(s) are mentioned as the recipients. It seems that the scribe, conscious that the *pappasu* was due only to the prebendary, preferred to use a more neutral (in his opinion) term. An interesting detail appears from BM 100960, where Nabû-upnīya and Bakûa, the slave-weavers of Nabû-bēl-šumāti (dated to the period after the death of Balātu and before the transmission of the prebend to his grandson Nabû-nāšir-apli, see below), received 10 minas of wool (obviously from the temple administration) for their garments (*mušiptu*). The ration must have originated from the *pappasu* and must have been made on the order of Nabû-bēl-šumāti. The collecting of wool or other raw materials (barley or dates) by weaver-slaves of the prebendary supports the opinion that the temple household of Ebabbar was relatively small; hence, the administration knew all its prebendaries and their subordinates. There was no reluctance to entrust the material to slaves; nevertheless, the recipient of raw material was precisely recorded every time. Some doubts arise owing to the emphasis in the documents that the distributed wool or dates were destined for the provisions (*kurummatu*) of the prebendary’s slaves, if at the same time the name of the prebendary is mentioned, thus suggesting that the prebendal contract included some separate sums for the actual performers of the garments. This, however, seems quite improbable; the small amounts of money that were paid in such cases and, in many texts, the precisely defined period of time for which the *pappasu* or the *kurummatu* was paid out, suggest that what is meant is a payment of only part of the amount due for the performance of the prebendary duties. One may suppose that the administration preferred to pay the entire amount upon completion of the

¹²⁴ (Dates) *ina pap-pa-su* ^{lu}UŠ.BAR-ū-tu ŠUKU.ĪI.A for prebendary and his slave in BM 63882 (Bertin 1294): 2–4 and in the similar text Nbn 908: 4–6; (barley) ŠUKU.ĪI.A for the month of Abu *ina pap-pa-su* ^{lu}UŠ.BAR-ū-tu for 3 weaver-slaves of the prebendary in BM 60394 (= Str. II 347/1): 7–10 and similarly in CT 57, 697: 2–5. Sometimes only the issued sum is given, without the use the term *kurummatu*, i.e. CT 56, 244 (barley and dates *ina pap-pa-su* ^{lu}UŠ.BAR-ū-tu for the prebendary and his weaver-slaves). In other texts only the term *kurummatu* is used without stressing that it is a part of the *pappasu* income of the prebendary (CT 56, 327: 17 and CT 56, 363: 4–6; CT 57, 486: 3).

¹²⁵ The scribe has made an evident mistake because instead of *išparūtu* he wrote *ašlākūtu* (^{lu}TÚG.BABBAR-ū-tu).

task. By indicating the actual performers, the prebendary succeeded in enlarging the “instalment” with an extra portion, which served (at least formally), as a means of living for the performers who were his dependants.

Conspicuously, these were the only instances where the prebendaries’ income was issued in the form of barley or dates rather than wool, with an interestingly regular schedule: the subordinates usually received barley in the spring and dates in the autumn. Obviously, such a replacement of a portion of the income must have been approved by the prebendary and advantageous in one way or another to the principal parties, the prebendary and the temple. If various kinds of produce were issued at their respective harvest times, this was apparently a means by which the temple could dispose of its surplus stock. The prebendary’s profit might have consisted in the fact that his men were supplied with food, and he himself did not have to sell the wool and use the silver received to purchase food (barley and dates). In all the other instances of the issue of replacement *pappasu* where the subordinates are not mentioned, the prebendary received silver. Unfortunately we do not know why silver should replace a material (wool), but this modification must have both been advantageous to the temple and have caused no loss to the prebendary. Perhaps to a certain extent this can be explained by the fact that the ownership of the prebend was combined with its function within the temple administration. In a sense, the prebendary himself decided which solutions were the most beneficial for him.

2. Classifications and skills

Among the textile craftsmen one can distinguish those who occupied themselves directly with the manufacture of fabrics and garments (*išparu*) from craftsmen whose task was to prepare raw material for the weavers, i.e. the dyers (*šapû*) or to repair the garments (*mukabbû*, “mender”) and clean them (*pūšāya* or *mupaššu*).¹²⁶ An important position was taken by the *ašlākus* (TÚG.BABBAR) but their role in this division of labour is not entirely clear. If we translate *ašlāku* as “washerman”, we should include him in the group of the cleaners; but if we translate the term as “bleacher”, then his task is closely connected with the job of the weavers.

Textile craftsmen belonged – as Bongenaar shows – either to the group of temple prebendaries or to the temple personnel. The professions con-

¹²⁶ Concerning the minimum figures of the persons engaged in the textile industry against the background of other groups, see MACGINNIS, *Letter Orders*, p. 160. The category of bleachers (estimated for five persons) was in fact much larger, see BM 59637: 6 (11 people). The regular participation of group of the *pūšāya* (between 5 and 11 persons) in constructions of dams and other hydraulic structures makes possible to suggest that their job had a seasonal or periodical character.

nected with the textile industries included only two groups of prebendaries: *išparu* and *ašlāku*. All others belonged to the temple personnel and received regular income termed *kurummatu*. Clearly, the social and financial status of the prebendaries as citizens enjoying full rights was a class higher than the status of the temple personnel, i.e. the dependents termed *širkê* (“temple slaves” or “oblates”), *nīšē bīti* (“people of the house”), or *šābē* (“workmen”) in the sources.

According to Bongenaar the term *išparu* had four different meanings:

1. a general name of a professional group
2. an abbreviated form of the *išpar birme* or *išpar kitê*
3. “(white wool?) weaver” as distinct from the “coloured wool weaver” (i.e. *išpar birme*)
4. “(prebendary) weaver” as an abbreviation of “the weaver of Šamaš and the gods of Sippar”¹²⁷.

The first two meanings are firmly established, but usages 3 and 4 require comment.

First, the phrase “weaver of Šamaš and the gods of Sippar” is based solely on Strassmaier’s copy of Cam 90: 2–3; however, collation of the text, the results of which are supported by the parallel text Cam 140, shows that the suggested reading is not correct:

Cam 90 (9.XI. Camb 1)

1. [x G]U!.¹UN!¹ 23 *ma-na* ¹/₃ ¹GÍN!?¹
2. SÍG.ĤI.A *a-na* ¹GADA¹ *ta-¹hap-šú¹*
3. šá^dU[TU] ù DINGIR.MEŠ *Sip-par*^{k(i)}
4. *a-na* ^m*Gi-mil-lu* ^{lú}UŠ.BAR
5. [SU]Mⁱⁿ
6. 5 *ma-na* SÍG.ĤI.A *a-na* *ti-mu*
7. ¹*a-na*¹ [^{md}UTU-ŠEŠ-MU]

Edge 8. ^{lú}GAL *sik-[kat^{meš}]*

Lines 9–13 as in Strassmaier’s copy

Cam 140 (12.XI. Camb 2)

1. [x x x] 23 *ma-na* ¹/₃ GÍN
2. SÍG.ĤI.A] *a-na* *ta-hap-šú* *a-na*
3. ^m*Gi-mil-lu* A ^mDUB-NUMUN SUMⁱⁿ
4. 5 *ma-na* SÍG.ĤI.A ^m*Gi-mil-lu*
5. šá MU.2.KÁM *e-tir*
6. 10 *ma-na* SÍG.ĤI.A *a-di* 3(?)*ta-hap-šú*
7. ^{md}UTU-ŠEŠ-MU ^{lú}GAL *sik-kat^{meš}*

¹²⁷ BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 301 and p. 310.

The tablet, although preserved unbroken, is in poor condition; however, nothing is missing at the beginning of the second line contrary to what is suggested by Strassmaier's copy. In line 1 the number $\frac{1}{3}$ is clear but after it there is a hole with some strokes(?) written in a circular fashion; perhaps it is damage resembling signs. Traces at the top resemble GĪN. The most difficult problem is the reading of the broken beginning of this line. Strassmaier's copy seems to be in general correct, except for the fact that in the second sign only the upper part of two vertical strokes is preserved, so the reading UN is not excluded. When I used a strong magnifier I found at the beginning a very tiny fragment of a *Winkelhaken*; it is not excluded that two horizontal lines went through the whole sign and are the remains of the beginning part of GÚ. The reading 2 KÙR suggested by Salonen, NUVI 3, 137, is unacceptable, because wool is weighed and not measured in pieces! Strong parallels in Cam 140 support our reading, where most probably the same amount of wool, the *taḥapšu*-blanket and Gimillu and Šamaš-aḥ-iddin, the *rab sikkāti*, are mentioned. Thus, the title "the weaver of Šamaš and the gods of Sippar" suggested by Bongenaar does not find support in any text known to me.

As the above quoted third definition of *išparu* shows, Bongenaar juxtaposes *išparu* "(white wool?) weaver" and *išpar birme* ("coloured wool weaver"), but when one attempts to define the tasks of the two groups, the distinction between them is much less clear. The author correctly says that *išparu* ("white wool) weaver" or prebendary weaver) dealt with the "weaving of (white) woollen garments for the clothing ceremony of the gods (cf. the *dullu pešû* texts), and they were responsible for (all) the coloured woollen and linen [sic! S.Z.] garments of the gods as well." Thus, the weaving of multicoloured garments seems to be the main task of "the coloured wool weaver" (p. 308). Quoting Cocquerillat, Bongenaar admits that the tasks of both groups often overlapped (p. 310); nevertheless, it is still necessary to explain why the two distinct professional groups developed. It is clear from the texts that the two groups were not formed because of any superior professional skills – it is known that many "white (wool) weavers" and their subordinates could weave coloured garments with the same proficiency as the "weavers of multi-coloured wool." This fact is confirmed by numerous texts referring especially to Ana-Nabû-upnīya, Bakûa and Nabû-nāšir, slave weavers of Nabû-bēl-šumāti, and later Balātu and Nabû-nāšir-apli, who on many occasions collected *takiltu* and *tabarru* wool for the manufacture of garments for the gods. Undoubtedly weaving from colour wool did not require any special skills. The exact reason why the *išpar birme* and *išpar kitê* formed separate groups follows indirectly from the fact that these non-prebendary groups received the *kurummatu* rations, and were therefore included within the temple personnel. In my opinion, the two groups were distinguished from the weavers of natural coloured (i.e., white) wool owing to the cost of the materials and the ex-

pensive dyeing products used by them. Additionally, linen, although grown in Mesopotamia, was more expensive and more difficult to obtain than wool. Understandably, the temple sought to have full control over the means for dyeing and preparing coloured wool. This was easiest when it was the task of the temple's own workers, who were subjected to strict control. Moreover, it seems that the most important task of the *išpar birme* was not weaving itself – as this was performed also by the prebendary weavers with success – but the obtaining of dyeing products, and the dyeing itself was their main task.

This opinion can be strongly supported when we look at a list of persons who received alum (*gabû*), necessary for the process of dyeing, usually together with *inzaḥurētu*-dye.

TABLE 5: The recipients of alum in the texts from Sippar

Name	Known as	Text(s)
Abu-ušur	<i>išpar birme</i>	CT 55, 363; BM 64099
Ardiya	<i>išpar birme</i>	ABC 39; BM 65103
Bakûa	<i>išparu</i>	CT 55, 865; Nbn 751
Bunene-šimanni	< <i>išpar ki-tê</i> >/ <i>mukabbû</i>	BM 63912
Gimillu/Šāpik-zēri	<i>išpar</i> < <i>birme</i> >/ <i>šapû</i>	BM 74484; BM 60803; BM 75916
Rēhētu/Itti-makû-ilāni	<i>išpar birme</i>	CT 57, 255
Šāpik-zēri/Šamaš-aḥ-iddin	<i>išpar birme/šapû</i>	BM 64798; BM 72840; BM 79348; BM 62149; CT 55, 353; Nbk 392

This opinion is also confirmed by the fact that more texts concern the way in which the *išpar birme* obtained products for dyeing, and the dyeing of wool, than about the weaving itself. Moreover, the representatives of other professional groups never replace the *išpar birme*, the person in charge of obtaining dyeing products. This seems reasonable because weaving from colour wool required no special experience, while the purchase of dyeing materials of good quality, and the dyeing itself did require specialist skills. That the dyeing was the most important task of the *išpar birme* can be con-

cluded from the fact that only members of this group sometimes used the title *šapû*–“dyer”, which in fact precisely corresponded to their role. Even if we assume that initially – when the group was first distinguished – the *išpar birme* was responsible not only for the dyeing, but also for the weaving from coloured wool, later when a well-organised system of prebends was established, there was neither any need nor possibility of maintaining a monopoly on weaving. The raw materials issued to the weaver could be precisely weighed and later weighed again upon collection of completed fabrics. That such a method was indeed used is evident from dozens of texts where individuals, usually belonging to the group of prebendary weavers or their subordinates, confirm the issue of multicoloured wool and the delivery of completed work, of which the weight is always precisely stated.

There is no doubt that the *išpar kitê* dealt with weaving garments from linen. The fact that the *išpar kitê* on whom we have quite abundant data occur with the title *pūšaya* proves that this kind of activity was an integral part of their profession. The etymology of the professional designation (from *pešû*, “to be(come) white”), and especially the fact that out of the four known cases of the use of alkali for the bleaching of linen, on three occasions the collectors are people bearing the title *išpar kitê* as well as the title *pūšāya*¹²⁸ – suggest that the bleaching of linen or linen fabrics was the important part of their professional duties. Bleaching of linen (or fabrics) by the *išpar kitê*, and simultaneously by the *pūšāya*, is, thus, an activity parallel to the dyeing of wool as performed by the *išpar birme*.

A close connection of the profession of the linen weaver with bleaching and cleaning is demonstrated by BM 66160, BM 84054, and BM 66847, where Bunene-šimanni, the *mukabbû* and most probably the overseer of the *išpar kitê*, received the materials for fulfilling his obligation (*iškaru*) described as “for cleaning.”

BM 66847 (82-9-18, 6840)

4.7 × 3.6 cm

9.2.Nbn [x]

1. ʾšam¹-ni šá a-na pu-ša-a-a SUM^{na}
2. ITI.GUD UD.9.KÁM MU.[x].KÁM

¹²⁸ CT 55, 369a (Madānu-aḥ-iddin, see BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 331; add also BM 77453: 2–3 published by the present author in *NABU* 2002/3, p. 55), 369b (Šamaš-aḥ-iddin, see n. 130 below), and 439 (Balassu, see BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 320). Contra BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 313, it seems to me that Balassu, who received tamarisk for producing alkali used for bleaching and whose task was described as *ana zukkû* acted not as a “cleaner” but as a “bleacher.” BM 64091, where Šamaš-šum-iddin, the *ašlāku* and the *išparu*, is a recipient of tamarisk, suggests that occasionally the tasks of *ašlāku* did indeed overlap with the tasks of *pūšāya*.

3. ^{md}AG-I LUGAL TI[N.TIR].KI

4. [x+] 1 *qa* ^{md}ĤAR-[*ši-man*]-*ni*

5. [x x] 2? ^r*ni a-na*¹[x x]

One line lost (?).

Rev. PAP 1 [x x (x)]-APIN-KÁM (sic)

Rest lost.

“Oil given for cleaning” (followed by the date and quantity).

BM 66160 (82-9-18, 6151)

4.5 × 3.6 cm

12.5.Nbn 13

1. ^r5 BÁN¹ *uḫ-ḫu-lu a*-[*na*]

2. *te-ni-e šá lu-bu*-[*uš-tu*₄]

3. [*šá*] ITI.KIN *a-na*^m[....

4. 18 ^{sig}*ta-bar-ri* ^rx¹ [....

5. *a-na bat-qa ina pa*-[*ní*]

6. ^{md}ĤAR-*ši-ma-an*-[*ni SUM*^{na}]

Rev. 7. ITI.NE UD.12.KÁM

8. MU.13.KÁM ^dAG-I

9. LUGAL E.KI

L. 4. *ta-bar-ri* is followed by two *Winkelhaken*, the second under the first one.

5 *sūtu* of alkali for the (ceremony) of changing clothes in the month of Ulūlu for [PN];

18 (shekels?) of red wool for the repair [was given] at disposal of Bunene-šimanni.

Month of Abu, 12th day, thirteenth year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon.

BM 84054 (83-1-21, 1217)

5.8 × 4.3 cm

Camb 2

1. *sim-ma-nu-ú šá a-na pu-šu-ú*

2. *šá iš-ka-ri šá* MU.2.KÁM

3. ^m*Kám-bu-zi-ja* LUGAL KUR.KUR.MEŠ

4. *a-na* ^{md}ĤAR-*ši-man-an-ni SUM*^{na}

5. 1 KÙR 4 BÁN GAD.ŠÚ.NAGA 2 *ma-na* ^rx¹ [x x]
6. [*a-h*]u-us-su 4 *qa* 2 N[INDA.ĪI.A *šam-ni*]
7. [*a-na*] ^r2¹ GADA *hu-la*-[*nu* (x x)]
8. [x x GADA *sal*]-*hu* 1 GADA [x x x]

Edge 9. [x x x x] *šu-bat* [x x x x]

- Rev. 10. [x x x (x)] ^ršú² ^ršá ^rd¹[x x x]
11. [^ršá² *a-na* ^[m]d¹ĪAR-*ši-man*-^ran¹]-[*ni* SUM^{na?}]
 12. [1 KÙ]R 1 (PI) 4 BÁN GAD.ŠÚ.NAGA 2²/₃ *m*[*a-na* x (x x)]
 13. *a-hu-us-su* 5 *qa* 3 NINDA.ĪI.A *šal-šú* NINDA.ĪI.A
 14. *šam-ni a-na* 3 GADA *gi-da-li-e*
 15. *šá pa-pa-hu šá* ^dUTU 4 GADA *šid-du*^{meš}
 16. 2 GÚ 51 *ma-na* KILAL-*šú-nu*
 17. *a-na* ^{md}ĪAR-*ši-man-an-ni* SUM

L. 1. (*i*)*simmānu*, cf. Nbn 281 (silver for *si-ma-ni-e dul-lu* GADA *na-as-qa*); BM 63917 (BONGENAAR, *NABU* 1993/41); BM 64112 (= Bertin 2932), mentioned BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 414; Dar 4 (BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 412); the last three texts concern manufacture of shoes, mainly for the bowmen.

L. 6. *aḥussu* = *uḥultu* (an alkali substance)

L. 14. Concerning *gidlu*, see M. Stol, *ZA* 73 (1983) 299; and cf. BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 381.

L. 16. Two talents 51 minas is obviously the weight of the *gidlū* and the *šiddu* given to Bunene-šimanni for cleaning. It is interesting to note that the *gidlū* and the *šiddu* appear again in CT 56, 10, which suggests that they were functionally connected. (In CT 56, 10: 1 ^rkuš¹ *šid-da-nu* should be emended to ^rtūg¹ *šid-da-nu*).

Materials for laundering as labour assignment for the second year of Cambyses, king of the lands, were given to Bunene-šimanni.

1 *kur* 4 *sūtu* of tamarisk, 2 minas ... of alkali, 4 *qa* 2 *akalu* [of plant oil for] two linen *ḥullānu* [... x linen *sal*]*hu*, one linen] *šubtu*-symbol for the god(dess) ... [was given to] Bunene-šimanni.

[1? *ku*]*r* 1 (*pi*) 4 *sūtu* of tamarisk, 2 minas 40 shekels ... of alkali, 5 *qa* 3 *akalu* (and) ¹/₃ *akalu* of plant oil for three *gidlu*-door curtains for the inner cella of Šamaš, 4 linen curtains – their weight two talents 51 minas was given to Bunene-šimanni.

Three components are mentioned, i.e. tamarisk (*bīnu*, written here GAD.ŠÚ.NAGA, in other texts GAD.NAGA), alkali (*aḥussu*, by-form of *uḥūlu* and *uḥultu*),¹²⁹ and ŠE.GIŠ.Ī, for which the translation “sesame” is

¹²⁹ BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar* (Indexes, p. 556, s. v. *uḥūlu*) mistakenly identified the GIŠ/GADA.NAGA as the ideogram for alkali (for which the ideogram is ^(u)NAGA); in result all examples cited there concern tamarisk (*bīnu*), not alkali. Concerning the use of alkali and its use, see CAMPBELL THOMPSON, *DAB*, pp. 31ff. and in Ur III texts WAETZOLDT 1972, p. 172.

accepted. Other texts concern the issue of one or two of these components. In CT 55, 369a 4 *pi uḥ-ḥu-lu* and 4 *sūtu* of ŠE.GIŠ.Ī were given to Madānu-aḥḥē-iddin, the washerman, while in a very similar text (CT 55, 369b) Šamaš-aḥ-iddin, also a washerman,¹³⁰ received 1 *pi* of GAD.NAGA and 3 *sūtu* of ŠE.GIŠ.Ī. The same Šamaš-aḥ-iddin received 1 *pi* 4 *sūtu* of GAD.NAGA for the *lubuštu* ceremony of the month Addaru in the twenty-eighth year of Darius (BM 64091 = Bertin 2647: 7).¹³¹

We now turn to the discussion of the third component, written as ŠE.GIŠ.Ī for which the Akkadian equivalent of *šamaššammu* is recognised, i.e. sesame.¹³² That sesame was used in the process of cleaning garments is of low probability. It seems more probable that what is meant in fact is not sesame but plant oil from *šamaššammu*-seed. Such an interpretation is suggested also by the poorly preserved text BM 66847 (82-9-18, 6840), which mentions in its heading “oil which was delivered for the washermen” (*šam¹-ni šā^{<lu>} pu-ša-a-a SUM^{na}*).¹³³

Oil and alkali¹³⁴ were used in the manufacture of soap and obviously could have been used for cleaning;¹³⁵ tamarisk as a component for cleaning has not previously been recognised in Neo-Babylonian texts. This is, however, due to the mistaken identification of the ideogram GIŠ.NAGA as the Akkadian equivalent for alkali (*uḥūlu*), whereas its Akkadian equivalent is in fact *bīnu*. Tamarisk, which appears throughout the third and second millennia, quite often in literary, cultic and medical texts among *materia medica*, as well as in economic texts, lost its importance in the first millennium because of intensified planting of the date palm. It is known that tamarisk was planted in gardens, but it also grows naturally both in dry and also in damp or even marshy places without deliberate planting. No text from the first millennium B.C. concerning the tamarisk plant is known. Only one text from Ur (UET 4, 180: 7) mentions a container (*egubbū³*) made of tamarisk; in another text there appears the settlement *Huṣṣēti ša bīni* (8 *Congrès* 31: 4) suggesting that tamarisk was a very popular tree there. The economic importance of tamarisk, “useless tree” (GI.MEŠ *la ḥi-se-[e]ḥ-te*) according to the famous dispute between tamarisk and date

¹³⁰ Contra BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 342, I prefer to identify him with Šamaš-aḥ-iddin/Šamaš-ēreš, because he is known with the title of *pūšāya*, see CT 57, 65: 16 from the fourteenth year Nabonidus, i.e. close to the date of CT 55, 369b (23.1.14, without king's name) while the other person of the same name (mentioned by BONGENAAR, loc. cit.) is known with the title of the *išpar birmi/šāpū*.

¹³¹ Here the first sign is similar to GIŠ, but in the Neo-Babylonian texts from Sippar GADA and GIŠ are written interchangeable.

¹³² See, however, the discussion section in CAD Š I 306–307.

¹³³ In l. 4 we see [x+]1 *qa^{md}* HIR-[šī-man]-ni, most probably the same person as in BM 66160: 6 and BM 84054: 4, 17.

¹³⁴ Concerning alkali and its use for tanning, see SIGRIST, *JCS* 33, 160, and POTTS, *Mesopotamian Civilisation*, p. 119.

¹³⁵ WAETZOLDT 1972, p. 172; BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 313.

palm,¹³⁶ was rather small. More often it was used for the production of small items or tools, such as cultic figurines (*šalmu*),¹³⁷ spindle whorls (*pilaqu*), containers (*malilu*), spoons (*itquru*), axes (*haššinnu*), and hoes (*maru*) used both in the cult and in the building of boats (*eleppu*). Because tamarisk was used only exceptionally as a building material,¹³⁸ it is very probable that, besides its use for small-scale manufacturing, and the employment of tamarisk leaves, foliage, sprouts, bark, sap, roots, and resin as components in medicine and magic (cf. CAD B 241), it might also have been used as a fuel. Although the possible use of tamarisk as a fuel is not excluded, at least one text (BRM 4, 32: 22) shows that tamarisk roots were used for the production of alum (^{na4}*gabû*). Since in BM 84054 tamarisk is mentioned besides alkali, it is possible that it played a double role, i.e. first it was used for heating water and then its ashes could be used for the extraction of soda.¹³⁹

Highly interesting information is included in the following small tablet which mentions, again, tamarisk and the resin of the juniper tree.

BM 83647 (83-1-18, 810)

3.4 × 2.9 cm

Nbn 15

1. 2 BÂN GAD.ŠINIG
2. 1 *qa* ŠIM.LI
3. *a*-[*n*]*a*^{md}UTU-M[U-MU]
4. ^{lu}TUG.BABBAR
5. ITU.SIG₄ [UD.x.KÁM]
6. MU.1^r5?¹. [KÁM]
7. [^m]^dAG-I
8. LUGAL E.KI

2 *sūtu* of tamarisk, 1 *qa* of juniper resin (were given) to Šamaš-š[um iddin], the bleacher.

Month of Simānu, [day x], fifteenth? year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon.

¹³⁶ LAMBERT, *BWL*, p. 162: 22; Cf. translation in CAD B 240: “a wood which is not in demand.”

¹³⁷ WIGGERMAN 1992, p. 8: 67; p. 10: 97, 105, 115, 124; p.12: 138; cf. also p. 116–117.

¹³⁸ The same is true of Assyria, where a different type of tamarisk called *šurpu’u* was used, but also for making small wooden items, see POSTGATE, *BSA* 6, p. 185.

¹³⁹ CAMPBELL THOMPSON, *DAB*, p. 41 (this was kindly drawn to my attention by M. Jursa). When this study was definitely finished a new volume of *ZA* 94 reached me with an important article of M.P. Streck (STRECK 2004), see especially part 5.2.1 (Das Tamariskenholz zur Herstellung von Möbeln, Behältern, Geräten und Statuen, pp. 276–278), and 5.2.2. (Das Tamariskenholz als Brennmaterial(?), p. 278).

Šamaš-šum-iddin, acting here as an *ašlāku* used tamarisk for heating and/or producing ashes for washing the garments while the juniper extract might have been used to give them a nice smell.¹⁴⁰

The striking fact is, however, that while the *dullu pešû* texts are issued by the *išparu*, there is no *miḥṣu tenû* text containing lists of linen garments delivered to the temple by a linen weaver (*išpar kitê*). Only representatives of another professional group, the *ašlāku*, prepare the lists. One can conclude that just as in the case of wool garments, delivery of linen garments was in the hands of the *ašlāku*, the only group of prebendaries connected with the manufacture of linen fabrics. The fact that in the *miḥṣu tenû* lists garments are counted and not weighed (which is typical of the *dullu pešû* texts), confirms the role of this group as intermediary, and not directly involved in the manufacture of these garments.

The *ašlāku* is translated as “bleacher” or “washerman”, but this would mean that the task of the *išpar kitê* = *pūšāya* and the task of the *ašlāku* overlapped. The fact that no *išpar kitê* = *pūšaya* was the deliverer of garments in the *miḥṣu tenû* lists suggests, on the one hand, that in the Neo-Babylonian period the duties of the *pūšāya* were different from those of the *ašlāku* and that the *ašlāku* did additional tasks, which might have involved performing specific tasks as well as organisational functions. In two texts (Nbn 284 and CT 55, 814) it follows that the *ašlāku* did indeed clean garments which had been used previously. It seems that whereas the “head of a team of *išparûtu kitê*,” as postulated by Bongenaar, led the work of teams of linen weavers, the *ašlāku* took fabrics over from them, completed the clothing and later took care of them before each ceremony. Presumably the specific role of the *ašlāku* stems not only from the fact that they belonged to the group of prebendaries, but also from their performance of another role, unfortunately absolutely impossible to grasp from the sources. One notices the lack of tailors among the professions of the textile craftsmen, although it is very unlikely that all elements of linen garments could be woven as a whole. Indirectly we have mention of the making of threads (*ṭīmu* or *ṭīmītu*). It is possible that what we perceive as an overlapping of competence of the individual groups connected with the manufacture of garments reflects the process of forming a new division of labour. In this scheme, the last chain in the case of linen products was the *ašlāku* who, we may suspect, collected the items from weaver/fuller and delivered complete garments before all the celebrations. Their duties may have also included the care of used garments and sending them over to the *mukabbû*. The example of Bēl-ittannu, known as *ašlāku* and *mukabbû*, shows that this situation pushed the *ašlāku* into obtaining a new skill. It is not excluded that the

¹⁴⁰ See OPPENHEIM, *JCS* 21, p. 243. Juniper extract issued to a weaver is also mentioned in one text from Uruk, i.e. NBC 8363: 9 (see BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 230), destined for the *taḥapšu* blankets of Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu, i.e. probably for the same purpose as in Sippar.

temple copied the organisation of work among the non-prebendary groups, where it is known that Bunene-šar-ušur fulfilled both the *išpar birme* and *mukabbû* task, while Bunene-šimanni, Libluṭ and Uššaya, undertook the task of the *išpar kitê* and *mukabbû*.

3. The prebendary weaver

Bongenaar demonstrated that most of the prebendary weavers belonged to one family, of which four generations can be traced in the sources. Studies of unpublished texts allow us correct the data referring to the periods of activity of the family's individual representatives and, moreover, to investigate in greater detail the vicissitudes of its members.

The most relevant emendation in this respect concerns Dummuqu, the first representative of the family, whose activity lasted over a period of about 40 years. He is first mentioned in a text from Kand 15 (BM 50209 + BM 50031), while he appears for the last time in Nbp 17 (BM 49268).¹⁴¹ Since the last mention of Dummuqu originates from Nbp 17 (609 B.C.), and the first one of Nabû-bêl-šumâti as the chief of the family firm is from Nbp 18 (608 B.C.), we can assume that the son took over the prebend only after the death of the father and, according to the numerous documents from this period, managed the firm successfully.

When Dummuqu died, Nabû-bêl-šumâti, probably the only son of Dummuqu,¹⁴² was an adult, already married for some years with children of his own.¹⁴³ This is evident from the fact that already in the eleventh year of Nebuchadnezzar (594 B.C.) his son Nâdin¹⁴⁴ had inaugurated his professional activity. Information about Nâdin's activity, no doubt in the name of his father, is scarce and ends by Nbk 42 (569 B.C.).¹⁴⁵

Not much is known about Kudurru, another son of Nabû-bêl-šumâti, who so far occurs in only three texts; two have completely broken dates¹⁴⁶ while the third, BM 74448 = Bertin 1646, was written in an unknown year of Nabonidus. It seems, however, that the text must be dated to the very beginning of Nabonidus' reign and the lack of later information is due to Kudurru's death. There is no evidence to suggest that Nabû-bêl-šumâti, for

¹⁴¹ ZAWADZKI, *BiOr* 56, p. 295.

¹⁴² The texts do not mention another son of Dummuqu, or any brother of Nabû-bêl-šumâti.

¹⁴³ Nâdin, Balātu and Kudurru, see below.

¹⁴⁴ BM 73327 dated 18th Abu Nbk 11, however, without father's name.

¹⁴⁵ New texts, not known to BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, are: BM 73327: 4 (18.5.Nbk 11); BM 67013: 8 (2.10.Nbk 1381); BM 66096: 2 (6.2.Nbk 42); BM 60783: 3 (4.12.[Nbk³ x]). The absence of any later data about him or his descendants enables us to assume that Nâdin died childless in or about 562 B.C.

¹⁴⁶ CT 56, 396: 5 and the new text BM 62099 obv. II 10 (the last of eleven weavers in a ration list).

reasons unknown to us, deprived Kudurru of his share in the family business.

Beginning at the very end of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar (year 41), Balātu, another son of Nabû-bêl-šumāti, appears,¹⁴⁷ and – as seems to be important – during the following years the *dullu pešû* list were composed in his name. Although the latest data concerning Nabû-bêl-šumāti appears in the eleventh year of Nabonidus (Nbn 544, dated to 545 B.C.), there are grounds to believe that a few years earlier he had decided to give the prebend over to Balātu, although this did not mean his complete withdrawal from professional activity. Insight into the relationship between father and son and the question of prebend management enables us to investigate the activity of three family slaves designated in the relevant texts either as *qallu*, *lamutānu* (“slave”) or *mār šipri* (“messenger”).

Ana-Nabû-upnīya

3.5.Nbn 1	BM 84214	<i>lamutānu ša Nabû-bêl-šumāti išparu</i>
18.12.Nbn 1	CT 57, 491	<i>lamutānu ša Nabû-bêl-šumāti išparu</i>
14.5.Nbn 2	CT 55, 869	<i>qallu ša Balātu</i>
7.6.Nbn 2	CT 56, 605	<i>qallu ša Nabû-bêl-šumāti išparu</i>
7.6.Nbn 2	CT 56, 616	<i>qallu ša Nabû-bêl-šumāti išparu</i>
8.12.Nbn 2	CT 56, 611	<i>qallu ša Balātu</i>
[x].12.Nbn 2	CT 57, 378	<i>qallu ša Balātu</i>
23.1.Nbn 3	CT 55, 863	<i>qallu ša Balātu</i>
9.4.Nbn 4	BM 84470	<i>lamutānu ša Nabû-bêl-šumāti išparu</i>
22.10.Nbn 4	Nbn 174	<i>lamutānu ša Nabû-bêl-šumāti išparu</i>
23.12.Nbn 4	BM 61749	under the authority of Nabû-nāšir-apli
29.12.Nbn 5	Nbn 217	<i>lamutānu ša Nabû-nāšir-apli</i>

Bakûa

12.8.Ner 3	Ner 65	<i>qallu ša Nabû-bêl-šumāti</i>
10.8.Nbn 1	BM 59834+	<i>lamutānu ša Nabû-bêl-šumāti</i>
18.12.Nbn 1	CT 57, 491	<i>lamutānu ša Nabû-bêl-šumāti</i>
24.12.Nbn 1	CT 57, 510	<i>mār šipri ša Balātu</i>
27.12.Nbn 1	CT 55, 859	<i>mār šipri ša Balātu</i>
9.4.Nbn 4	BM 84470	<i>lamutānu ša Nabû-bêl-šumāti</i>
22.10.Nbn 4	Nbn 174	<i>lamutānu ša Nabû-bêl-šumāti</i>
23.12.Nbn 4	BM 61749	under the authority of Nabû-nāšir-apli

¹⁴⁷ See BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 330 f. and add: BM 61611: 5 (16.12.<Nbk> 41; BM 101209: 5 (11.7.Ner 0); BM 62123: 4 (14.2.Nrg[x]); BM 83699: 2 (24.5.Nbn 2); BM 66460: 3 (10.7.Nbn 3); BM 101847, rev. 10' (date damaged, but because of the mention of Arrabi the text can be dated to the time of Nabonidus). The earliest possible mention of Balātu in BM 83271: 3 ([Nbk] '313) is uncertain. The Balātu mentioned in BM 64903: 6 is not the son of Nabû-bêl-šumāti (contra my suggestion in *BiOr* 56, p. 294).

[x].3.Nbn 5	BM 99937	[<i>qallu</i>] <i>ša</i> Nabû-nāšir-apli
20[+x].8.[Nbn] 7	BM 65047	<i>qallu ša</i> Nabû-bēl-šumāti
10.6.Nbn 8	Nbn 302	<i>lamutānu ša</i> Nabû-bēl-šumāti (with Nabû-dīni-bullit)
13.6.Nbn [8]	BM 83281	<i>la[mutānu ša</i> Nabû-bēl-šumāti]
20.5.Nb[n] 19 ¹	BM 62962	<i>qallu ša</i> Nabû-bēl-šumāti
4.7.Nbn 10	BM 62582+	<i>qalla ša</i> Nabû-nāšir-apli
4.7.Cyr 6	Cyr 232	<i>qalla ša</i> Nabû-nāšir-apli

Nabû-nāšir

10.8.Nbn 1	BM 59834+	<i>lamutānu ša</i> Nabû-bēl-šumāti
24.12.Nbn 1	CT 57, 510	<i>mār šipri ša</i> Balātu <i>išparu</i>
27.12.Nbn 1	CT 55, 859	<i>mār šipri ša</i> Balātu
18.12.Nbn 1	CT 57, 491	<i>lamutānu ša</i> Nabû-bēl-šumāti
8.8.Nbn 4	CT 55, 799	member of <i>nīšē bīti</i> of Nabû-bēl-šumāti who received <i>pappasu</i> of Nabû-bēl-šumāti
22.10.Nbn 4	Nbn 174	<i>lamutānu ša</i> Nabû-bēl-šumāti
23.12.Nbn 4	BM 61749	under the authority of Nabû-nāšir-apli
29.12.Nbn 5	Nbn 217	<i>lamutānu ša</i> Nabû-nāšir-apli
24-[xx]	CT 56, 310	<i>mār šipri ša</i> Nabû-bēl-šumāti

The above list shows that at some moment all the three slaves changed hands from Nabû-bēl-šumāti to Balātu. If we assume that they were transferred at the same time, the transition must have occurred after 18th Addaru in Nbn 1 (because on this day Bakûa and [Nabû-nāšir] were still *lamutānu* of Nabû-bēl-šumāti), but before 24th Addaru (because on this day CT 57, 510 refers to them as *mār šipri* of Balātu). From the successive years Nbn 2 and Nbn 3 there is no information as to whom Bakûa and Nabû-nāšir were subject to, but in some texts between 18th Abu Nbn 2 and 23th Nisannu Nbn 3 Ana-Nabû-upnīya is named as *qallu* of Balātu, which makes it probable that all three remained under his authority. The handing over of three well-trained slave/weavers to the grandson could have been a first step on the route to the full transfer of the family prebend to his hands, and anyway the grandfather still could have made use of the slaves' labour. Such a possibility is suggested by two documents, CT 56, 605 and CT 56, 616, dated to the same day, 7th Ulûlu Nbn 2, in which Ana-Nabû-upnīya is termed *qallu* of Nabû-bēl-šumāti, while in the same period in other texts he is identified as *qallu* of Balātu (see above). CT 57, 131 written on 29th Nisannu, indicates that Nabû-nāšir had ties with his previous master in the second year of Nabonidus, since he received silver "on account of (*ina muhhi*) Nabû-bēl-šumāti." At the beginning of Nabonidus' reign the responsibility for garments included in the *dullu pešû* lists is shifted from

Nabû-bêl-šumāti to Balātu (CT 55, 810).¹⁴⁸ That Balātu intensified his activity is also shown by the fact that in the second year of Nabonidus he is mentioned in ten texts and three of them (CT 55, 869; CT 57, 453 and BM 59621) concern the preparation of garments for the *lubuštu* ceremony. At the same time Nabû-bêl-šumāti is mentioned only in three texts (CT 57, 131; CT 56, 605; CT 56, 616), among them only one (CT 56, 616) mentions the *dullu ša* ITI.KIN, which presumably means the preparation of garments for the *lubuštu* for this month.

It is noteworthy that Balātu appears for the last time in a document dated to 10th Tašrītu Nb[n] 3 (BM 66460), whereas on 4th Du'uzu Nbn 4 (Ana)-Nabû-upnīya receives wool for the manufacture of garments for the *lubuštu* ceremony of the month of Tašrītu as *lamutānu* of Nabû-bêl-šumāti (BM 84470) and on 22th Ṭebētu Nbn 4 all three weavers are described as the *lamutānus* of Nabû-bêl-šumāti (Nbn 174). This means that after 10th Tašrītu Nbn 3 but before 4th Du'uzu Nbn 4 they went back under the authority of Nabû-bêl-šumāti. The lack of any later mention of Balātu and the fact that at the end of the fourth year of Nabonidus (BM 61749, dated 23th Addaru Nbn 4) the firm is managed by his son Nabû-nāšir-apli, the grandson of Nabû-bêl-šumāti, leads us to conclude that already in the third year or at the beginning of the fourth year of Nabonidus the last of the three sons of Nabû-bêl-šumāti died, and Nabû-bêl-šumāti resumed management of the prebend for a short time.

But managing the family business was probably too strenuous for the old man, so sometime before 23th Addaru Nbn 4 he transferred the prebend to his grandson. Nabû-bêl-šumāti's withdrawal from activity was, however, not complete, since in the fifth year he is responsible for the preparation of the *lubuštu* ceremony in the month of Tašrītu (CT 55, 841). That the decision to transfer the prebend to his grandson was difficult for Nabû-bêl-šumāti is seen in the texts dated to the seventh, eighth and ninth year of Nabonidus, in which Bakûa (and in the eighth year also Nabû-dīni-bullit) is again *lamutānu* or *qallu* of Nabû-bêl-šumāti but later, from the tenth year of Nabonidus, he is once again *qallu* of Nabû-nāšir-apli.¹⁴⁹

The conclusions are as follows: late in the first year of Nabonidus' reign, Nabû-bêl-šumāti decided to transfer the prebend to his son Balātu, but this does not mean his complete resignation from all activity. Only two years later Balātu died, and Nabû-bêl-šumāti again managed the firm for a short period, and after a few months he transferred it to his grandson. The slave/weavers were now under the control of the grandson, but after a cer-

¹⁴⁸ Although the content is typical for the *dullu pešû* texts in the heading there is only word *miḫšu*. For the list of texts mentioning Balātu, see BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, pp. 320f. and here in the Appendix.

¹⁴⁹ In CT 56, 310 (year broken) Nabû-nāšir is described as *mār šipri* of Nabû-bêl-šumāti. BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, pp. 9, 333 and 336, suggests dating 24.[x].Nbn <11> but there is no basis for such a proposal.

tain period Bakûa returned to Nabû-bêl-šumāti and stayed with him for three more years. From the tenth year of Nabonidus Bakûa is again the *qallu* of Nabû-nāšir-apli. The title *mār šipri*, unknown in a professional group, presumably means that this slave's duties included maintaining permanent contact with Nabû-bêl-šumāti and help his former old master.

Nabû-nāšir-apli, son of Balātu and grandson of Nabû-bêl-šumāti, is first mentioned in the fourth year (BM 66247 and BM 61749) and already in the end of this year all three slaves were under his authority.¹⁵⁰ From this moment on Nabû-nāšir-apli was responsible for the preparation of garments for all ceremonies. The grandfather, however, did not withdraw completely from active life and as late as the eighth year of Nabonidus and again in the eleventh year he still received his *pappasu*-income for his work as a temple prebendary. Such a gradual and incomplete withdrawal from the duties of a prebendary, both in the case of cession to a son and later to a grandson, raises a question as to what was the reason behind this. We can ask whether or not only an actual prebendary was allowed to maintain membership of the *kiništu* (assembly) and have the right to enter the temple rooms, inaccessible to ordinary people. Another reason for keeping at least part of the prebend in his hands might be the wish to enjoy financial independence from his grandson.

Though Nabû-bêl-šumāti was still alive in the eleventh year of Nabonidus, six years earlier (in the end of fourth year of Nabonidus) the prebend was transferred to Nabû-nāšir-apli, who actively managed it until the eighth year of Cyrus (Cyr 296), i.e. for almost twenty years. BM 64673+, from the reign of Cyrus (the scribe mistakenly omitted the year), shows that at one moment Nabû-nāšir-apli decided to use the services of an *ēpišānu* (performer), Šamaš-šum-iddin,¹⁵¹ who was active at that time as an *ašlāku* responsible for the garments from the *miḥsu tenû* lists. Šamaš-šum-iddin appears again as *ēpišānu* of Nabû-nāšir-apli in CT 44, 73 from the first year of Cambyses (530 B.C.), where his responsibilities include not only the garments for Šamaš and some items of other gods belonging to the

¹⁵⁰ The last text in which Nabû-bêl-šumāti is in charge of the preparation of garments for the *lubuštu* ceremony of the month Tašritu is CT 55, 841 from Nbn 5.

¹⁵¹ An interesting idea to identify Šamaš-šum-iddin as the son of Šamaš-zēr-ušabši of the Hambāya family was expressed by JURSA, *Archiv*, p. 102, n. 424. It is based on the comparison of BM 42384: 4, mentioning Šamaš-šum-iddin, the weaver, with BM 42343+: 28, BM 42425+: 19–20 and BM 79116: 16–17, where the witness is Šamaš-šum-iddin, son of Šamaš-zēr-ušabši of Hambāya family (with family name given only in the last two texts). Because all these texts belong to the archive of Bêl-rēmāni, the idea is attractive and if so we would know of three generations of the Hambāya family working in the Ebabbar temple textile industry, i.e. Šillaya, son of Ašlāku, active at the time of Nabopolassar until the fortieth year of Nebuchadnezzar (BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, pp. 341–342), Šamaš-zēr-ušabši, son of Šillaya, active at the time of Nabonidus (see BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 349 and Appendix 1, where the new text supporting Bongenaar's suggestion is cited) and Šamaš-šum-ukīn, son of Šamaš-zēr-ušabši.

prebendary quota of Nabû-nāšir-apli, but also many other garments which Nabû-nāšir-apli had never delivered before. The text seems to suggest that the prebendary duties of Nabû-nāšir-apli in the month of Ayaru were extended to include the *lubār mē qaqqadi*, *sūnu*, *lubār kulūlu* and the *lubār erru* of Šarrat Sippar, the *šibtu* and *sūnu* of Anunītu, the *šibtu* of Gula, the *patinnu* of Šamaš and Bunene, the *kusītu* of Aya and many other small items among the garments. We should note, however, that this text is the last one in which Nabû-nāšir-apli appears, and there only as the employer of an *ēpišānu*. It cannot be excluded that, rather contrary to the heading, the document includes also the duties performed by Šamaš-šum-iddin in the name of a person or his own. The lack of any mention of Nabû-nāšir-apli after the first year of Cambyses suggests that he probably died without progeny,¹⁵² and the only known possible successors mentioned in the two texts were his brothers, Mušēzib and Nabû-balāssu-iqbi.¹⁵³ The scarcity of data makes it impossible to explain the situation both within the firm and the family, but it is at least certain that the brothers were unable to perform the duty in the following years, and that the obligations were transferred to different people, usually to Šamaš-šum-iddin.

CT 44, 73 is the first text in which Šamaš-šum-iddin acted as an *ēpišānu* of Nabû-nāšir-apli, preparing the garments for the *lubuštu*-ceremony for the month of Ayaru in the first year of Cambyses.¹⁵⁴ However, also in the following years Šamaš-šum-iddin or other people are responsible for the preparation of the garments for the *lubuštu* ceremony, previously performed by Nabû-nāšir-apli.

Below only the documents from the time of Cambyses are listed:¹⁵⁵

- Šamaš-šum-iddin *ēpišānu*; received wool for making garments for month Ulūlu, Camb 1 (BM 74459 = Bertin 1808)¹⁵⁶
- Šamaš-šum-iddin *lubuštu* of Araḥsamna, Camb 1 (Cam 66 acting as *ēpišānu*; cf. Cam 70: 7–8)¹⁵⁷

¹⁵² None of his children are mentioned in the texts.

¹⁵³ Mušēzib is known only from Cam 367 (15.2.Camb 7) and Nabû-balassu-iqbi from Dar 303 (6.5.Dar 11+) where wool was issued for the *lubuštu* ceremony.

¹⁵⁴ Maybe already in the eighth year of Cyrus Šamaš-šum-iddin worked as *ēpišānu* of Nabû-nāšir-apli because according to BM 101489 (15.7.Cyr 8) he received 4 (PI) 1 BÂN ŠE.BAR as [*pap-pa-su*] *išparūtu*. Probably Šamaš-šum-iddin acted as an *ēpišānu* (title broken) of Nabû-nāšir-apli in BM 64673+ (time of Cyrus, year omitted by scribe).

¹⁵⁵ Based on the data known already to BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, plus new texts identified by me. The list does not include the texts in which Šamaš-šum-iddin acted as the owner of his own prebend, responsible for the preparation of garments known from the *miḥšu tenū* lists.

¹⁵⁶ The text records the issue of wool for the month Ulūlu, i.e. obviously for the *lubuštu* ceremony of the month Ulūlu, although it is not the *dullu pešū* list.

¹⁵⁷ Again, these are not the *dullu pešū* texts, but they record the receipt of *takiltu* wool for the *lubuštu* of Araḥsamna (Cam 66) and dates as *pappasu* for the same month (Cam 70).

- Šamaš-šum-iddin *pappasu* of Araḥsamna, Camb 2 (Cam 128)¹⁵⁸
- Šamaš-šum-iddin, *ēpišānu*; issue of wool, probably for the *lubuštu* of Addaru, Camb 2 (BM 76747)¹⁵⁹
- Šamaš-šum-iddin, *ēpišānu* responsible for some garment of [Šamaš] and Bunene, i.e. probably the duty belonging to the owner of the prebend, Camb 3 (BM 64143 = Bertin 1905)
- Šamaš-šum-ukīn, *dullu pešû* lists for the *lubuštu* of Ayaru, Camb 5 (BM 67160)
- Kalbā and Šamaš-zēr-iqīša *dullu pešû* lists for the *lubuštu* of Ulūlu, Camb 5 (BM 63993 = Bertin 1867), both presumably members of the *išpar birme*¹⁶⁰
- Šamaš-šum-ukīn, garments for the *lubuštu* of Ulūlu, Camb 6, prepared by him instead of the escapee Arad-Bēl (Cam 312)¹⁶¹
- Šamaš-šum-ukīn, *dullu pešû* lists for the *lubuštu* of Araḥsamna, Camb 6 (BM 64657)
- Kalbā/[PN] and [DN]-uballit/Nabû-kēšir, *dullu pešû* and *miḥšû tenû* lists for the *lubuštu* of Ulūlu, Camb 7 (BM 61517)
- Mušēzib/Balāṭu, most probably co-owner of the prebend; issue of wool for *lubuštu* ceremony of unknown month (which is broken), Camb 7 (Cam 367)
- Šamaš-šum-ukīn, *dullu pešû*, garments for *lubuštu* ceremony of Ayaru, Camb [x] (Cam 413)

It should be noted that in a few texts dated later than CT 44, 73 in which thanks to the title *ēpišānu*, we know that Šamaš-šum-iddin acted instead of the prebendary, the prebendary's name is omitted.¹⁶² It might be owed to

¹⁵⁸ Payment of *pappasu* for the month Araḥsamna implies his responsibility for garments for the *lubuštu* ceremony of this month.

¹⁵⁹ The text, written on the 5th day of the month Tebētu, concerns the issue of wool, most probably for the manufacturing of the garments for the next *lubuštu* ceremony (in Addaru).

¹⁶⁰ For Šamaš-zēr-iqīša, see BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 348–349 (*išpar birmi*). Bongenaar suggests identifying Kalbā as the son of Kabtia (see p. 328), but more probably both belonged to the same category of weavers, and the text belongs with the group discussed on pp. 328–329.

¹⁶¹ The text is of special importance because it demonstrates the difficulties in executing the prebendary duties which had previously been the responsibility to Nabû-nāšir-apli. The owner(s) or the temple administration entrusted the task to a certain Arad-Bēl, who escaped, and in such an extraordinary situation Šamaš-šum-iddin was obliged to prepare the garment for the *lubuštu* ceremony only two days before that ceremony (the text was written on 5th Tašrītu while the ceremony was on 7th Tašrītu). It is interesting to note that it is stressed that the weight of garments is under the standard norm, cf. lines 6–7: 20 *mana šuqultu lubāru Šamaš* ⁷2 *mana dullu maṣu*, “20 minas, the weight of *lubāru* of Šamaš, 2 minas of work is missing” and lines 10–11: 1 *mana šuqultu* 10 *ḥuṣanne*^{mes} ¹¹ša ^dAya 5 *šiḡil dul*-lu LĀ**, “1 mina, the weigh of 10 *ḥuṣannu*-sashes of Aya, 5 shekel of work is missing.” It is obvious that Šamaš-šum-iddin acted here as an *ēpišānu*.

¹⁶² These texts are BM 74459, Cam 66 (both from first year) and 76747 (second year).

the fact that the work was entrusted not by the prebendary but by the temple administration, or perhaps the omission of the owner's name resulted from the fact that the prebend was shared undivided by two brothers (Mušēzib and Nabû-balassu-iqbi) or other people altogether. Šamaš-šum-iddin also performed the duty of the prebendary preparing the garments included in the *dullu pešû* lists at the time of Darius. From that time there are many other texts suggesting that he was responsible for garments included in such a list. Strikingly, the title used by Šamaš-šum-iddin changed. In the texts written up until the end of the second decade of Darius, he appears with the title *ašlāku*, including those texts in which it is clear that he is responsible for garments from the *dullu pešû* lists. Later the title *išparu* is most often in use, occurring sometimes also in the texts where Šamaš-šum-iddin is responsible for garments included within the *miḥṣu tenû* lists. We might explain such a change by assuming that, after a long period when Šamaš-šum-iddin acted in the name of the owner of the weaver's prebend,¹⁶³ he ultimately bought the *išaprûtu* prebend, which resulted in his regular use of the *išparu* title. Although the question of the ownership of this weaver's prebend is uncertain, it seems that from the beginning of Cambyses' reign, Šamaš-šum-iddin gained almost full control over the textile prebend which had previously been in the hands of Nabû-nāšir-apli and his ancestors. The earlier clear (though not complete) division, when the *išparu* (and only rarely the *išpar birme* and *išpar kitê*) were responsible for garments from the *dullu pešû* lists and the *ašlāku* were responsible for garments from the *miḥṣu tenû* lists, was abandoned. This may mean that the process of dividing the prebends was stopped for some time, or even reversed. The increasingly frequent use of the title *išparu* instead of *ašlāku* by Šamaš-šum-iddin better reflected his new role.¹⁶⁴ Such a situation did not last long, because already at the time of Darius other persons appear as garment manufacturers for Šamaš or/and other gods and goddesses of Sippar.¹⁶⁵ We can suppose that they bought some part of the

¹⁶³ At the same he was the owner of the *ašlākûtu* prebend.

¹⁶⁴ This situation resulted in confusion within the temple itself: sometimes when the title *ašlāku* appears, we would rather expect *išparu*, and vice versa.

¹⁶⁵ Those person whose activity started after the alleged death of Nabû-nāšir-apli (i.e. after Camb I) were:

Arad-Bēl: Camb 4–6, see BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 316.

Ardiya/Šamaš-šum-iddin, perhaps the son of Šamaš-šum-iddin who performed the duty after the death of Nabû-nāšir-apli: Dar 8–35, see BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 316, and here in the list of weavers.

Bēl-ittannu, the *ašlāku* and *mukabbû*: Dar 14–28, see BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 322, and here in the list of the weavers.

Marduk-rēmāni/Bēl-uballit//Šāhit-ginê: Dar 15-Xer 0, see BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 331; ZAWADZKI, *BiOr* 56, p. 296 and cf. WAERZEGGERS, *Marduk-rēmāni*, no. 199 (ca. Dar 25) and no. 174 (Xer 0).

Abu-šar-ušur: Dar 26–34, see BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 314, and here in the list of weavers.

weavers' prebend or simply acted as the performer, although the lack of the proper term (*ēpišānu*) makes this less likely.

The fact that a quite important part of the weavers' prebend belonged to one family for at least four generations, combined with the extensive documentation, enable us to enquire in detail into the nature of their activity in this field. Below I will present the obligations of Dummuqu and his son Nabû-bēl-šumāti, but owing to the scarce documentation and the short period when Balātu managed the prebend, we then proceed immediately to Nabû-nāšir-apli.¹⁶⁶ Accordingly, we will characterise briefly the activity of Dummuqu and next in more detail compare the weaving activity of Nabû-bēl-šumāti with that of Nabû-nāšir-apli.

1. The activity of Dummuqu

BM 50209+ of Kand 15 and BM 49268 of Nbp 17 seem to confirm that Dummuqu was owner of the entire weaver's prebend of Šamaš, because according to both texts he delivered the *lubāru*, the *šibtu*, the *lubār damqi* (= *lubār mē qaqqadi* quoted only in BM 49268) and the *ḥuṣannus*. BM 50209+ mentions the *nēbeḥu ša qašti* and BM 49757 the *mutattu*, while the broken BM 49883 mentions the *lubār kulūlu* and the *lubār mēḫu*, presumably also for Šamaš.¹⁶⁷ As far as other gods go, the assignments of Dummuqu were selective:

- *lubāru* and *šibtu* for Bunene (BM 49268 and maybe in BM 50963:3 [reconstr.], but also the *nēbeḥu* (BM 49757 and PEFQS 32, p. 261) and possibly the *ḥuṣannus* (BM 50209+)
- *ḥuṣannus* for Aya (BM 50209+)
- *kusītu* and *naḥlaptus* for the *mārāt Ebabbar* (PEFQS 32, p. 261)
- *paršīgu* for Šarrat Sippar (BM 50209+ and BM 50963).

The lack of garments for the other deities Anunītu, Adad and Šala, might reflect from the small number of texts.

Since the weavers' prebend for Šamaš remained in the hands of Dummuqu's descendants in successive generations, below we will analyse only the obligations of the grandfather and the grandson for other deities, based mainly on the *dullu pešū* lists.

Šamaš-aplu-ušur, the *ašlāku* (not *išparu* or *lamutānu ša išpari* as suggested by BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 343) and here in the list of the weavers.

The list includes only these weavers, who were involved in the manufacturing or issue of garments for the gods. The weavers known only as recipients of wool or silver for dying are not included here.

¹⁶⁶ One must remember, however, that the initial period of Dummuqu's activity is relatively poorly documented and further research into the collection of texts from this time is needed.

¹⁶⁷ In the texts of his successors they are always destined for Šamaš.

2. The activity of Nabû-bêl-šumāti and Nabû-nāšir-apli

a.) The clothing for Aya (TABLE 6 and 7)

The regular delivery of *hušannus* and *sūnus* by Nabû-bêl-šumāti is his only responsibility for Aya. Other items of her attire appears relatively seldom: *kusītu* (5 times), *paršīgu* (5 times), *naḥlaptu* (5 times, among them one with *ajar pāni*) and *lubār kulūlus* (2 times). These extra items appear only in five documents, and only the delivery of the *kusītu* and of the *naḥlaptu* demanded more time; the three remaining items, which are relatively light, surely did not require new workers. One can imagine, however, that the team of Nabû-bêl-šumāti's weavers was more numerous at times while smaller at others, and accordingly Nabû-bêl-šumāti could have accepted or refused to take on an extra burden. The idea that these extra assignments were only occasional ones is confirmed by the fact that Nabû-bêl-šumāti is the deliverer of the *kusītu* and the *naḥlaptu* in Nebuchadnezzar years 6, 13 and 39, but the items are missing in the texts from Nabopolassar year 20 and Nebuchadnezzar years 2–4, 7, 9 and 15.

Nabû-nāšir-apli, the grandson of Nabû-bêl-šumāti, is still a regular deliverer of the *hušannus* and *sūnus*; only BM 79793+ suggest that he delivered also *lubār kūlulu*, *lubār erru* and *paršīgu* and at least sometimes he was responsible for the delivery of her *kusītu* (Nbn 547 from Nbn 11) and *adilānu ša kusītu* (Nbn 751 from Nbn 14). There is no clear change of the responsibility of grandfather and grandson in respect of the garments of Aya.

b.) The clothing for Bunene (TABLE 8 and 9)

Beginning from the final years of Nabopolassar's reign during the whole period of his activity Nabû-bêl-šumāti was responsible for providing the god Bunene with *lubāru* and *šibtu*.¹⁶⁸ Except for these two items Nabû-bêl-šumāti delivered also *hušannus* (9 times), *lubār kūlulus* (9 times), *lubār mēṭus* (4 times), *nēbehus* (4 times) *sūnus* (9 times) and *paršīgus* (7 times).

The grandson supplied Bunene only with *lubāru* and *šibtu*, although also these garments on many occasions were prepared by other people, presumably acting on the orders of Nabû-nāšir-apli. It is noteworthy that in several well-preserved *dullu pešû* lists composed in the name of Nabû-nāšir-apli between Nbn 15 and Cyr 5, there is no mention of the garments for Bunene. Also in CT 44, 73, dated to Cambyses' first year (529 B.C.), where Šamaš-šum-iddin acted as the performer (*ēpišānu*) of Nabû-nāšir-apli, he delivered for Bunene only *patinnu*,¹⁶⁹ whereas the list includes

¹⁶⁸ The texts in which these two items are missing concern most probably the item for which colour wool was used.

¹⁶⁹ Because *patinnu* appears regularly in the *miḥṣu tenû*, for whom the prebendary *ašlaku* were responsible, one might suggest that the presence of *patinnu* in CT 44, 73: 19 re-

almost a complete set of garments for other gods. The fact that in some other texts from this period other items of Bunene's attire appear, shows that Nabû-nāšir-apli did not resign from the manufacture of the garments for this god. However, the lack of items which earlier had been delivered by the grandfather suggests that the scope of Nabû-nāšir-apli's activity was in fact much narrower.

c.) The clothing for *mārāt Ebabbar* (DUMU.MEŠ *É-babbar-ra* or GAŠAN.MEŠ) (TABLE 10)

Nabû-bēl-šumāti was regularly responsible for *hušannus*, and sometimes also for *kusītus* (2 times), *nahlaptus* (2 times) and *paršīgus* (3 times). In the *dullu pešū* lists Nabû-nāšir-apli, the grandson, does not deliver any garments for the "Daughters of Ebabbar" at all, which makes it probable that he sold or transferred his responsibility to someone else. However, BM 79793+ mentions wool issued to his weaver/slaves (Ana-Nabû-upnīya, Nabû-nāšir and Bakûa) for the manufacture of a *kusītu* and four *nahlaptus*. This may mean that Nabû-nāšir-apli resigned from the regular supply of the *hušannus* but occasionally undertook some tasks.

d.) The clothing for Šarrat Sippar (GAŠAN UD.KIB.NUN.KI) (TABLE 11 and 12)

Nabû-bēl-šumāti regularly delivered *hušannus* and also made quite frequent deliveries of *sūnus* (5 times), *paršīgus* (6 times) and *lubār kūlulus* (4 times), *lubār mē qaqqadi* (2 times), *kusītus* (3 times) and probably once *lubār pāni*.

Nabû-nāšir-apli confined himself to delivering the *hušannus* for that goddess since in only one text, in addition to *hušannus*, does he deliver *sūnu* and *lubār mē qaqqadi* (CT 44, 73). From another text (BM 79793+), a settlement of accounts of coloured wool used by his weavers, it is clear that he sometimes fabricated the *lubār kulūlu*, *paršīgu* and *lubār erru*. In the light of the well-known texts, only the *lubār erru* headdress is a new item, previously not manufactured by him or his grandfather. This might represent a minor change because, if Nabû-nāšir-apli decided to assume a new obligation for other deities, as a rule it concerned the items which had earlier been manufactured by his grandfather.

e.) The clothing for Anunītu (TABLE 13 and 14)

Only one text from the time of Nabû-bēl-šumāti is preserved in which items for the attire of this goddess are mentioned, namely *hušannus*. From

sulted from the fact that the texts comprised not only the prebendary obligations of Nabû-nāšir-apli but also the prebendary obligation of Šamaš-šum-iddina, the *ašlāku* who acted as the performer (*ēpišānu*).

the time when the firm was managed by the grandson, we have only four texts mentioning the items for the garments of Anunītu, and in three of them he delivers – just like his grandfather – *ḥuṣannus*. Additionally, in the second text he delivered also *sūnu*. Only in the first text¹⁷⁰ are *lubār kulūlu* and *lubār mēṭu* for Anunītu mentioned. It is difficult to say whether Nabû-nāšir-apli decided to accept new responsibilities or – in the light of the fact that he limited his obligations for other gods – retained in this case the responsibilities of his grandfather. The lack of adequate texts dated to the period of Nabû-bēl-šumāti makes it impossible to find an answer to this.

f.) The clothing for Adad and Šala (TABLE 15 and 16)

The garments issued for the spouses are usually included in one section. The preserved texts dated in the early years of Nebuchadnezzar's reign (between the second and the thirteenth year) mention five *ḥuṣannus* for Adad and five for Šala. Nabû-bēl-šumāti regularly delivered *ḥuṣannus* and one *sūnu*, which, as some texts specify, was destined for Adad. In six texts the situation is different. In VS 6, 26 (Nbk 6) and in BM 51274 (Nbk, year broken), of similar structure, Nabû-bēl-šumāti delivers additionally *lubāru*, *šibtu* and *paršīgu* while in BM 62543 *lubāru*, *šibtu*, ten *ḥuṣannus* and *lubār kulūlu*. In BM 62626 from Nbk 39 instead of *ḥuṣannus* and *sūnu* we find *lubār kulūlu* and *lubār mēṭu* for Adad and *paršīgu*s, among them one decorated with *ajar pāni* for Šala.¹⁷¹ Similarly, in CT 4, 38a: 17–22 (thirteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar), instead of *ḥuṣannus* and *sūnu* there is *lubār kulūlu* and *lubār mēṭu* for Adad but *lubār kulūlu* and 2 red *paršīgu*s for Šala. In VS 6, 208: 5 (fifteenth year of <Nebuchadnezzar>) there appear (one) *sūnu* and *ḥuṣannus* (TÚG.<NÍG>.ÍB.LA.MEŠ) for Adad; there are, however, no garments for Šala. These irregularities allow us to suggest that the temple administration made Nabû-bēl-šumāti deliver items which were lacking. But the presence of *lubāru* and *šibtu* in VS 6, 26 and BM 51274 indicates that Nabû-bēl-šumāti accepted an extra obligation (although this was an exception).

From the time of Nabû-nāšir-apli there are only four texts, but the situation is clear: the grandson delivered only *ḥuṣannus* and *sūnu*. Nabû-nāšir-apli accepted exceptionally an extra obligation, as is suggested by BM 79134 concerning an issue of wool for the manufacturing of *lubāru* for Adad (not included to the table).

¹⁷⁰ Nabû-nāšir-apli does not appear in BM 79793+, but the presence of his three weavers/slaves (Ana-Nabû-upnīya, Bakūa, Nabû-nāšir) and Šamaš-zēr-ušabši allows us to ascribe the text to him.

¹⁷¹ The lack of *lubāru* and *šibtu* is justified by the fact that the text concerns only the garments produced with colour wool.

g.) The clothing for Gula (TABLE 17 and 18)

There are only two texts which without any doubt can be ascribed to Nabû-bêl-šumāti: BM 65732 from an unknown year of Nebuchadnezzar (but later than the ninth year, i.e. after the temple was rebuilt) and BM 59834+ from first year of Nabonidus. In the former text Nabû-bêl-šumāti's obligations include *šibtu*, *hušannus* and *sūnu*, while in the latter, to some degree atypical,¹⁷² only *sūnu*.

At least eight texts concern the period of activity of Nabû-nāšir-apli on his own (see Table 18), while in two texts Šamaš-šum-ukīn appears as his *ēpišānu* (BM 64673+ and CT 44, 73). In all the documents *hušannus* are always present, in four *sūnus*, but in two well-preserved texts *sūnu* is lacking. Only in one text (CT 44, 73) in addition to *hušannus* and *sūnu* there is also *šibtu*, *lubār kulūlu*, *paršīgu* and *lubār erru*. This situation was exceptional because the obligation was performed by Šamaš-šum-iddin, the *ēpišānu* of Nabû-nāšir-apli, who might already have been dead at that time.

From the above observations it follows that the grandson maintained the entire prebend of the god Šamaš, but the scope of his involvement in the manufacture of garments for other deities was obviously smaller, as is particularly visible with respect to Bunene and the Daughters of Ebabbar. Despite the fact that the weavers who worked for the grandfather and the grandson were skilled enough to carry out all kinds of manufacture, a tendency to confine their activity to specific parts of garments is evident. One can say that the firm specialised in manufacturing *hušannus* and *sūnu* belts. Apart from these, other items of clothing were also made, especially head-dresses, mainly *lubār kulūlus* and *paršīgus*.

4. The weaver's prebend in the background of other prebends at Sippar

The question of the organization of the temple household and the role of prebends has been the subject of many studies. At least some of them concern the Ebabbar temple of Šamaš at Sippar, including the important recent study by Bongenaar. However, some aspects, in my opinion crucial ones, still await explanation. Additionally, observations concerning the organisation of the prebendary system give us the opportunity to raise an important question concerning the character of the archives from Sippar which we have at our disposal.

Scholars agree that the prebends were organised so far to ensure the undisturbed running of the cult and to limit the every-day involvement of the temple administration. The core of the system was the transmission of

¹⁷² The text mentions jointly *sūnu* for Bunene, Šarrat Sippar, Gula, and Adad. Gula is not a mistake for Šala, who never received *sūnu*.

some temple goods or property to people who, quite often, were already in some way connected with the temple, e.g. in exchange for the delivery of final products ready to use during a cultic ceremony or in cultic acts. Daily care of the gods was recognised, without any doubt, as a cultic act even if it was not a part of a cultic public ceremony. Only a part of the raw materials was reserved for cult offerings (*sattukku*), while the rest was treated as the remuneration (*pappasu*) for processing the raw material and delivering the final product to the gods' tables. However, the prebendary obligation could have had not only a material but also a non-material character. Let us take an example of such prebendaries as the porter (*atû*), or a person performing cultic rituals (such as an *āšipu*), whose obligations were to guard the temple or to perform service. Obviously, such prebendaries did not have at their disposal the *sattukku* because in these cases *sattukku* was to be equated with their own work and was of non-material nature. Their duties, similar to the duties of butchers, oil-pressers, brewers, etc., were limited to days or rituals (during days or nights, etc.). But each prebendary received the *pappasu*, i.e. income which could have consisted of the same raw materials which, in processed form, were allocated for the cult. Such a form of payment was, however, quite rare and was limited to staples which the temple had in surplus (i.e., barley, dates, oil, wool). Gold, iron, bronze, i.e. expensive and mostly imported raw material, were never paid as a *pappasu*.

Scholars usually focus their attention on such prebends as the baker's, brewer's, butcher's or oil presser's where the obligations of the prebendaries were limited to precisely determined days or, in the later period, even a small part of a day. The common feature of these prebends was that the goods delivered were destined for consumption on a single occasion. Bread was eaten, beer drunk, oil used for cultic performance or for the preparation of cakes on each particular day. The next day a new portion of such products had to be delivered.

Clearly, such a system was in use only with respect to consumable goods, but could not have been applied for non-consumable ones such as garments and jewellery and other temple paraphernalia needed for cultic and non-cultic purposes by the gods and goddesses. The non-consumable goods such as textiles, jewellery, metal tools, etc. lasted for a long time and would be in use for many years after their production. It is unreasonable to expect that new sets of jewellery, or different sets of garments for every day or even for every festival could have been delivered. In these areas the obligation of the prebendaries was organised not on the basis of a day system but on the subject system. Although contracts regulating the duties of such prebendaries or documents recording the buying and selling of such prebends are unknown to us, it is clear from many other texts that such agreements enumerated the precise number, weight, and quality of

materials used in their manufacture. The issue of providing and supplying temples with items of great value such as gold or other metals, and linen in the textile branch, raises a question concerning internal organisation. There are substantial doubts as to whether or not the prebendary system was in use here. The most important argument against the idea stems from the fact – already observed by Bongenaar – that the *išpar kitê* received *kurummatu*, i.e. they were treated as non-prebendary personnel. It seems that the *sattukku-pappasu* system did not embrace them and that the only professional group clearly connected with the manufacture of the linen garments was the *ašlāku*. One can say that the supply on linen and the manufacturing of linen garments in the temple's workshop was directly supervised by the temple administration. Because linen – the basic material for garments, listed in the *miḥṣu tenû* texts never left the temple workshop it was enough to give the numbers of manufactured garments while in the *dullu pešû* texts both weight and numbers were needed. It suggests also that in an early period the garments included in the *dullu pešû* lists were made of wool, while those from the *miḥṣu tenû* were made of linen. In the sixth to the fifth century B.C. some garments included in the *miḥṣu tenû* texts were probably made of wool (see below); the fact that they were still left in these texts means that the original criterion of division between prebendary and non-prebendary responsibilities is less sharp than in previous time. For the administering of these linen items the prebendary system in the hand of the *ašlākus* has been established. The foundation of such a system in the textile branch, with two groups of the prebendaries, is evident from the very onset of our documentation, but we do not know whether or not such a division existed earlier, at the beginning of the first millennium B.C.

The supply for the gods in Sippar of garments and other weavers' items in the first millennium B.C. was regulated anew by Nabû-apal-iddina, king of Babylonia in the ninth century, after an interruption caused by plunder in the city and the temple complex by the Suteans. BBSt 36 col. V mentions only major festivals and some of the garments of Šamaš, Aya, and Bunene, the three deities residing in Ebabbar, that were presented to Nabû-nādin-šumi, the *šangû* of Sippar at that time, but clearly it does not comprise the list of all garments for these gods.¹⁷³ The most surprising thing is the lack of these garments (*šeri'îtu* and *karbîtu*), found neither in BM 91002, which includes the complete set of garments for Šamaš, nor in any of the hundreds of texts from the end of the 7th to the beginning of the fifth century B.C. Evidently, as a result of changes which took place in the period between Nabû-apal-iddina and the end of the 7th century, the *šeri'îtu* and the *karbîtu* garments were no longer offered to the principal deities of

¹⁷³ For a new transliteration, translation and commentary, see SLANSKI, *Babylonian Entitlement*, pp. 198–220. Concerning the epigraphs on the relief, see pp. 196–198. For the different interpretation of the epigraphs and reliefs (not noted in Slanski's study) see SEIDL, *ZA* 91, pp. 120–132, especially pp. 127–128.

Sippar. BM 91000 does not provide an unequivocal answer as to whether Nabû-apal-iddina established one joint weavers' prebend for all the three major Sippar deities, because the turning over of responsibility for the running of the system to Nabû-nādin-šumi, the *šangu* of Sippar, does not seem to have meant that the weavers' prebend was in his hands.¹⁷⁴ If indeed this was the case the documentation at our disposal, which dates back to the times of Nabopolassar, shows that Dummuqu and his descendants were fully re-sponsible only for the delivery of part of garments for the god Šamaš which appeared in the *dullu pešû* texts. It seems clear that this duty resulted from the exclusive ownership of the Šamaš weaver's prebend. However, their duties in respect to other gods and goddesses, also to Aya and Bunene, were limited to certain particular items. This last observation leads to the conclusion that responsibility for the garments for those two deities was kept not by one, but by several families, among them the family of Dummuqu and his successors. The representatives of a family or families are, however, not present in the texts in the Ebabbar archives. One thing seems certain: irrespective of whether Nabû-apal-iddina established one mutual weavers' prebend for all the three highest Ebabbar deities, or three separate prebendaries existed, from the onset of the reign of the Nabopolassar's dynasty the responsibility for the supplies for these deities was divided. Only garments for Šamaš remained mostly (at least with respect to woollen clothes) in the hands of Dummuqu and his descendants. This state of affairs remained, as we have shown above, until the beginning of Cambyses' reign, when there were no more direct heirs of Nabû-nāšir-apli.

Doubt arises in those cases in which the prebendary delivers garments or parts of garments only sporadically. The preserved documents do not allow detailed insight into such situations and we can only suppose that in some cases the prebendary was acting as the *ēpišānu* of the prebend owner. That such a situation is probable is suggested by the fact that some prebend owners, especially in the later Neo-Babylonian and the Persian periods, had no professional experience. Aḥḫē-iddin-Marduk and Uballissu-Gula, both representatives of the Šangû-Ištar-Bābili family who occupied high-ranking positions in the temple administration and at the same time were owners of many other prebends, are good examples. Although they were owners of the weaver's prebend of the goddess Anunītu,¹⁷⁵ there is no evidence that in order to fulfil their obligations they had established their own

¹⁷⁴ The king's grant should be recognized as the income due to Nabû-nādin-šumi in his position of *šangu* of Sippar.

¹⁷⁵ We do not know who was the owner of the weavers' prebend of Anunītu in earlier times. The first certain text demonstrating that Aḥḫē-iddin-Marduk was the owner of this prebend is dated to the first year of Cambyses (BM 59003, see BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 243). However, CT 55, 832 (discussed by Bongenaar on the same page) makes it possible that they were in the hands of Aḥḫē-iddin-Marduk already in the fourth year of Nabonidus.

weaving workshops, just as there is no evidence that they established their own oil pressers or their own bakeries. According to BM 59003 (Camb 1), the obligations of Aḥḥē-iddin-Marduk were fulfilled by Rēḥētu, the *ēpišānu*; according to Cam 318 (dated Abu, sixth year of Cambyses) by Nabû-aḥḥē-bulliṭ, probably also an *ēpišānu* acting in the name of Uballissu-Gula, son of Aḥḥē-iddin-Marduk. Further documents confirm the activity of Uballissu-Gula,¹⁷⁶ where at least once the work was done by Šamaš-šum-iddin, obviously acting as an *ēpišānu* (CT 57, 132). Very interesting is Cam 312 (sixth year of Cambyses) according to which a certain Arad-Bēl, an *ēpišānu*, had promised to prepare the garments for the *lubuštu* ceremony for Šamaš, Aya, Bunene and Anunītu for the month of Ulūlu, but had fled. The text mentions the *šibtu* and the *sūnu* of Anunītu, which, in the light of BM 61580, dated a year earlier, belonged to the prebend of Aḥḥē-iddin-Marduk. It seems that instead of Arad-Bēl the duty was eventually fulfilled by Šamaš-šum-iddin. It should be stressed that despite the fact that Aḥḥē-iddin-Marduk and Uballissu-Gula were not professional weavers, the *dullu pešû u tabarru* lists were written in their names (BM 61580 and BM 83904 in the name of Aḥḥē-iddin-Marduk; BM 61762 and BM 61938 in the name of Uballissu-Gula).

The fact that Nabû-bēl-šumāti, his grandson Nabû-nāšir-apli and later Šamaš-šum-iddin delivered only selected items of garments for other deities in addition to the garments for Šamaš, contradicts Bongenaar's hypothesis, which assumes that garments for Aya and for Bunene were delivered from the prebendaries of Šamaš.¹⁷⁷ However, a text published by Jursa,¹⁷⁸ and some data included in the present study show that separate prebends to supply Bunene's cultic needs did exist. Because the manufacture of the remainder of these deities' garments was not included within the responsibilities of the prebend-owner of Šamaš, it can be seen as an indication that separate weaver's prebends of these other deities existed. Such a division is not peculiar as other separate prebends of the remaining deities existed, though they might have remained in close connection; in other words, the same people could have owned the weaving prebends of several deities. The known *dullu pešû* lists document the work and obligations of the families who came to own Šamaš's prebend, as well as small parts of the prebends of other deities. The existence of similar separate lists of garments for Adad can be deduced from BM 61114 rev. 9f. If among previously known texts, as well as those published here, texts documenting the

¹⁷⁶ BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, pp. 259–260.

¹⁷⁷ BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 240: "Some (non-prebendary) personnel of Aja, Bunene and the Divine Tower Temple (*Ziqqurra*) is listed ... below, but there is no evidence that separate prebends for these deities existed."

¹⁷⁸ JURSA, *Archiv*, pp. 68–69 and BM 42425+, *ibid.* pp. 181–182 and Taf. XXXI (concerning the butcher's prebend) and CTMMA 3, 90, see JURSA, *ibid.* p. 69 and p. 256 (concerning the brewer's prebend of Bunene).

activities of the prebendaries of Šamaš predominate, this can be explained by the fact that what we have at our disposal belongs to the archives of Šamaš. The archives of other deities (doubtless much smaller) are not known. The data concerning the garments of other deities appear only because some parts of their prebends were in the hands of the prebendary of Šamaš. We might suppose that the scarcity of evidence about other gods and goddesses results from the fact that the archives of those temples or chapels and the people connected with them were outside the archives of the Šamaš temple. This is the main reason why the persons responsible for the preparation of cultic garments for the less important deities – except for Anunitu – are not known from the extant archives of the Ebabbar temple.

5. The material and social position of the weaver's prebendaries

The evaluation of the status of the weaver's prebend owners in Sippar is based on data concerning one family, whose first known representative and head of the family firm was Dummuqu, while the last known was probably his grand-grandson, Nabû-nāšir-apli. The prebend in the possession of this family imposed on them the duty of preparing a set of woollen garments for Šamaš and also items of garments for other deities, which demanded good organisation of the business. The texts suggest that they were well-qualified weavers who also employed their own slaves in their workshop; these slaves were well trained (probably by the owners themselves) for the weaver's profession. Bakûa was the most active member, frequently acting as a substitute for Nabû-bêl-šumāti and Nabû-nāšir-apli, in maintaining contacts with the temple. He received wool either for production of the garments (*sattukku*) or as the *pappasu* destined for his lord and delivered finished items to the temple. As numerous texts indicate, Bakûa worked together with two other slaves, Nabû-upnīya and Nabû-nāšir, and on many occasions also together with the present head of the family. A newly identified text, BM 61611, shows that apart from the three slaves, he had one more slave, Nabû-tuktē-tirri, in the final period of his active management of the workshop by Nabû-bêl-šumāti (forty-first year of Nebuchadnezzar II). He sent the latter to Balātu, his son and the future owner of the prebend, with the small amount of 3 shekels of silver; however, we are not certain whether he was a trained weaver or not. Nabû-ēreš and Nabû-mukea, known from BM 84214, probably also worked for Nabû-bêl-šumāti. They are mentioned by Nabû-upnīya as the recipients of one talent of wool, the remainder (*babtu*) of 4 talents 35 minas, but only Nabû-upnīya is termed slave (*qallu*) of Nabû-bêl-šumāti. It seems that although the workshop employed a couple of well-trained slaves, nevertheless the owners did not limit themselves to organising the production but were also performers themselves. BM 79793+ shows that on some occasions the

weavers belonging to the *išpar kitê* class accompanied the three people mentioned above in the manufacture of garments, although the reasons and principles of this co-operation are not clear from the texts.

Despite the lack of information about the amount of the *pappasu* for the work done (but we know now that one-third of prebendary income (*maššartu*) belonged to the weaver's prebendary as his remuneration), the prebend surely provided a substantial income and a stable material situation for the family. As indicated above, the family made attempts to increase its income by taking on assignments to manufacture some of the elements of garments for other deities. Nevertheless, the innovations introduced by successive owners do not reveal any carefully arranged scheme: moreover, it is not absolutely certain whether these alterations reflect the purchase and sale of parts of the prebends of these deities, or whether they indirectly attest to their role as *ēpišānu*.

Strikingly, there are no data whatsoever concerning the possible ties of the family with other well-known families of Sippar. Moreover, none of the three successive representatives of the family is known as a party to any contract, nor can any be identified even as a witness. These facts suggest that the family belonged to a different social circle that was not covered by the Ebabbar temple archives. The highest social group in Sippar probably remained closed to this family. Thus it seems that the owners of the weaver's prebend of Šamaš belonged to the middle-income people, who happened to be connected with the temple by the prebend but retained their original status without any real possibility of social advance.

Among other owners of the weaver's prebend the only better known people are Aḥḥē-iddin-Marduk and his son Uballissu-Gula from the Šangū-lštar-Bābīli family. According to the data available Aḥḥē-iddin-Marduk purchased a weaver's prebend relatively late,¹⁷⁹ with the clear aim of increasing his income. Aḥḥē-iddin-Marduk was not an expert in this branch and he must have delegated the manufacture of the clothes to hirelings; though, again, we lack any direct information about his employees.

The only person who made his living entirely from the income from the weaver's profession was Šamaš-šum-iddin. In BM 42384 he is mentioned as one of ten people responsible for supporting one soldier. If we accept the identification of Šamaš-šum-iddin, suggested by Jursa,¹⁸⁰ with the man of the same name who belonged to the family of Hambāya, we could draw some conclusions concerning his social status. Of three documents from Darius' times¹⁸¹ in which he appears, he is the last-named witness in two of them (BM 42343+, and BM 42425), but in the third one (BM 79116 of Darius' year 18) he occupies second position and precedes four other wit-

¹⁷⁹ The earliest text in which he can be recognised as the owner of the weaver's prebend is BM 59003 (1'51.12.Camb 1).

¹⁸⁰ See above, n. 151.

¹⁸¹ See index of the personal names in JURSA, *Archiv*, p. 286.

nesses. Three of the four witnesses appear only in this document, which leads us to assume that their social status was not high. Rēmūt-Bēl, son of Kurbanni-Marduk, from the Bēl-eṭēru family, is known from a few documents dated to the time of Darius I,¹⁸² but nothing seems to confirm that he belonged to the upper class of the city of Sippar or that he was a wealthy man. The available data suggest that Šamaš-šum-iddin remained in the same group of middle-income citizens of the city. The ownership of a weaver's prebends did not open a way for social advancement.

¹⁸² See index of the personal names in JURSA, *Archiv*, p. 286.

V. GARMENTS AND FABRICS

1. Garments included in *dullu pešû* lists

1.1. The *lubāru* (TÚG.ĪI.A)

In all the early and classical *dullu pešû* lists *lubāru* fabric ranks first among those of Šamaš, which means that it was indispensable during all the six *lubuštu* annual ceremonies. The only general description of the *lubāru*-cloth makes it probable that it was not a specific item of clothing but a kind of a cover, coverlet or tablecloth, the functions of which depended on the particular needs and circumstances; the dressing of the god's statue would be important but only one among its many functions.

The reading *lubāru* is attested in many texts in which this term is written syllabically.¹⁸³ In most texts the word is written TÚG.ĪI.A, but TÚG.BABBAR.A and TÚG.BABBAR.ĪI.A¹⁸⁴ are also found. The last two writings probably resulted from the fact that white wool was the basic working material. Although none of the texts states the colour of the *lubāru*, there is an indication that the colour was white in the emphasis on the fact that a small amount of the *takiltu* wool was used for its manufacture. This supposition is further confirmed by the white colour of the *lubāru* in Uruk texts.¹⁸⁵

According to the classical *dullu pešû* lists for the *lubāru* of Šamaš 20 minas of wool was normally used. The finished fabrics weighed in fact 20.5 minas, because half a mina of blue-purple wool (*takiltu*) was also used in the process of manufacture. The texts usually keep it separate from the white wool with the preposition *ina libbi*¹⁸⁶ or *elat*,¹⁸⁷ and only exceptionally was it included in the total sum.¹⁸⁸ From BM 50745 as well as

¹⁸³ Compare, e.g., BM 49370: 1 42 *ma-na* KĪ.LAL *lu-ba-ri šib-¹tī¹ su-ni-e* with e.g. VS 6, 26: 1 37 *ma-na* KĪ.LAL TÚG.ĪI.A TÚG.MÁŠ TÚG.ÚR.MEŠ. Cf. also BM 49370: 4 *lu-ba-ri šib-tu šá^dBu-ne-ne* and BM 49992: 6 [*lu-b*]a-ri ù *šib-tu šá^dBu-n[e-n]e* with VS 6, 26: 3 TÚG.ĪI.A TÚG.MÁŠ šá^d*Bu-ne-ne* (and in many others). E. Salonen's translation KĪ.LAL TÚG.ĪI.A TÚG.MÁŠ as "Gewicht von einem *šibtu*-Gewand" is obviously wrong; the exact translation is "the weight of *lubāru* (and) *šibtu*."

¹⁸⁴ One can read TÚG.UD.A or TÚG.UD.A there.

¹⁸⁵ See below, n. 196 and Table 21.

¹⁸⁶ Typically the text reads as follows: 20 *ma-na* KĪ.LAL TÚG.ĪI.A šá^dUTU *ina lib-bi* 1/2 *ma-na* SĪG.ZA.GĪN.KUR.RA (Nbn 726: 3; Nbn 826: 3; Cyr 186: 4, and in many others. *ina lib-bi* 1/2 *ma-na* means exactly "with addition of 1/2 *ma-na* and not "including" (contra BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 305, translation of BM 74440), as demonstrated by Cyr 232 where *e-lat* is written instead of *ina lib-bi*.

¹⁸⁷ Cyr 232: 4 (20 *ma-na* KĪ.LAL TÚG.ĪI.A šá^dUTU *e-lat* 1/2 *ma-na* [SĪG.ZA. GĪN.KUR.RA]).

¹⁸⁸ BM 65732: 1 (time of Nebuchadnezzar II) and BM 66924+: 5 (20 1/2 *ma-na* KĪ.LAL TÚG.UD.A šá^dUTU) and CT 55, 801: 4 (20 1/2 *ma-na* KĪ.LAL TÚG.ĪI.A šá^dUTU); both from the time of Darius I.

from other texts dated to the initial years of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, we know that the norm of 20 minas of white wool plus half a mina of blue-purple wool for the *lubāru* of Šamaš was strictly observed at that time.¹⁸⁹

The *lubāru* also formed part of the garments of other deities of Sippar; their weight, compared to the weight of the *lubāru* of Šamaš, was as follows:

TABLE 20: The *lubāru* garments in texts from Sippar

God(dess)	Weight of main yarn	Colour of main yarn	Additional yarn
Šamaš	20 minas ¹⁹⁰	n.a., but prob. white	30 shekels of <i>takiltu</i> wool
Adad	15 minas ¹⁹¹	n.a., but prob. white	20 shekels of <i>takiltu</i> wool ¹⁹²
Bunene	1 minas ¹⁹³	n.a., but prob. white	6 shekels of <i>takiltu</i> wool ¹⁹⁴
Anunītu	weight n.a. ¹⁹⁵		
Aya	n.a.		
Šarrat Sippar	n.a. ¹⁹⁶		

n.a. = garment or its colour is not attested.

¹⁸⁹ BM 50745, rev. col. I 14', col. II 3' ([Nbk] 3); BM 51563, col. II 1'; BM 51099, rev. col. II 4' (I cite here only the line where the number is preserved, although I have reconstructed it in many other places).

¹⁹⁰ In all the texts edited in Part 2, if the beginning is preserved.

¹⁹¹ BM 61114: 12; BM 59723: 12 (reconstr.); BM 67093+: 15 (reconstr.); BM 66924+: 15 (reconstr.). This is confirmed by BM 75552 (= Str II 152/4): 13 where 20 minas are the combined weight of *lubāru* and *šibtu*, i.e. 15 minas is the weight of a *lubāru* and 5 minas is the weight of a *šibtu*.

¹⁹² BM 79134: 12 ($\frac{1}{3}$ GIN (= 20 shekels of blue-purple wool) *a-na* [TÚG].ĪI.A šá^dIM); Nbn 723: 4 (20 shekels and TÚG.ĪI.A šá^dIM made of blue-purple wool); Cyr 202: 9 ($\frac{1}{3}$) *ma-na a-na* TÚG.ĪI.A ¹⁰šá^dIM); Cam 382: 5 ($\frac{1}{3}$ * KI.MIN (= SIG.ZA. GIN.KUR.RA) šá TÚG.UD.A ⁶šá^dIM).

¹⁹³ BM 59723: 7; BM 62119+: 10; BM 72963: 9 (reconstr.); Cyr 289: 9 (reconstr.); CT 55, 806: 10; CT 55, 847: 6.

¹⁹⁴ Cyr 104: 3 suggests that *lubāru* *Bunene* (i.e. except *šibtu*) weighed 2 minas; however, probably the scribe forgot to write <MÁŠ> there.

¹⁹⁵ Nbn 415, where *takiltu* and *tabarru* wool were delivered to the weaver for repair of *tunšānu* and TÚG.ĪI.A of Anunītu, suggests that coloured wool has also been used for its manufacture.

¹⁹⁶ The only text where the *lubāru* of Šarrat Sippar might be found is VS 6, 23: 2. We read there that 11 minas 53 shekels of blue-purple wool was given for *ku-si-ti* TÚG.ĪI.A ¹lu (or *ku*) *ni x e*¹. SALONEN, NUVI 3, 240 suggested reading TÚG.ĪI.A(!) ¹su-ni-e¹, however, TÚG.ĪI.A is followed by *lu*, not *su*. My suggestion is to emend the text here to *pa!-ni-e*, and to see *lubār pāni* as the garment which belong only to the vestments of Šarrat Sippar.

TABLE 21: The *lubāru* garments in texts from Uruk

God(dess)	Weight of main yarn	Colour of main yarn	Colour of additional yarn	Number
Ištar-ša-Uruk	20 minas ¹⁹⁷	white	<i>takiltu</i> wool ¹⁹⁸	1
Nanaya	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Bēltu-ša-Rēš	100 or 110 shekels ¹⁹⁹	white	n.a.	1
Ušur-amāssu	n.m.	n.a.	n.a.	1 ²⁰⁰
Urkayītu	n.m.	n.a.	n.a.	1 ²⁰¹
Gula	n.m.	n.a.	n.a.	1 ²⁰²
IGI.DU	16 minas ²⁰³	<i>tabarru ša ḫūratu</i>	n.a.	1
Bēlēte	n.m.	n.a.	n.a.	2 ²⁰⁴

n.m. = weight not mentioned, i.e. the appropriate data is at present missing but might be found in future.

n.a. = garment or its colour is not attested.

The weight of the *lubāru* of Adad, whose position in the pantheon was lower than Bunene, is surprising but, as I will try to demonstrate below, it would be premature to interpret this as an argument for his higher position over that of Bunene.

The weight of the *lubāru* of Bunene is surprisingly low. It should be noted that except for a few texts where the weight of the *lubāru* and the *šibtu* of Bunene is given separately, the majority of texts give a total weight for both garments. In these texts their weight was almost always

¹⁹⁷ YOS 17, 301: 1; YOS 19, 270: 1 (in both 20 minas); YOS 19, 270: 1 (weight broken); PTS 3257: 1 (weight broken, BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 154). See also PTS 2094, col. I, obv., 7 and NBC 4750: 1 (one *lubāru* in each text, BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 153 (weight not stated).

¹⁹⁸ YBC 9510: 1 (23 shekels), see BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 155.

¹⁹⁹ YOS 17, 301: 9 (1 *ma-na* dated 15.6.Nbk 1 (522B.C.); YOS 7, 183: 15 (1⁵/₆ *ma-na* dated 25.11.Camb 6; ⁵/₆ might be the scribal error for ²/₃). See also PTS 2094, col. II, obv. 7 (weight not stated, see BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 220).

²⁰⁰ PTS 2094, col. II, obv. 13 (weight not stated), see BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 244.

²⁰¹ PTS 2094, col. II, obv. 20 (weight not stated), see BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 258.

²⁰² PTS 2094, col. II, rev. 34, and probably in YBC 9030: 13 (both published by BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 277 (weight not stated).

²⁰³ IBK 8, 165: 32' (weight given); PTS 2094, col. II, rev. 39 and YBC 9030: 6 (both published by BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 284 (weight not stated).

²⁰⁴ Known only from PTS 2094, col. II, rev. 27 (BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 180).

exactly two minas,²⁰⁵ which corresponds to the total weight of the *lubāru* and the *šibtu* in the texts where these fabrics are treated separately. This norm was established, however, no sooner than the second half of Nebuchadnezzar's reign. In a few texts of Nabû-bêl-šumāti the weights are higher: according to BM 51099 obv. I 7' (the second year of Nebuchadnezzar), the weight of the two fabrics was 3 minas 34 shekels, while in BM 50745 (the fourth year) it was 2.5 (rev. col. II 19') or 2 minas (rev. col. I 9'), and 2 minas and 15 shekels in the fragmentarily preserved tablet BM 59405: 10'-11'. The weight of 2 minas and 5 shekels in BM 61920: 4 probably includes also blue-purple wool. Although the name of the person responsible for the delivery is not preserved in all of them, the similarity in the subject and structure of the texts suggests that in all of them the responsibility was on Nabû-bêl-šumāti.

The colour of the *lubāru* of Bunene, just like that of Šamaš, is never mentioned, but the repeated information that in the manufacture of this garment the small amount of six shekels²⁰⁶ of blue-purple (*takiltu*) wool has been used (quite often issued together with the 30 shekels destined for the *lubāru* of Šamaš),²⁰⁷ suggest that his *lubāru* was also made of white wool. Comparison with the data concerning the *lubāru* of Šamaš suggests that there was some proportion between the general weight of the *lubāru* of particular gods and the weight of *takiltu* wool added; *takiltu* wool was most probably used for manufacturing some type of adornment which interrupted the monotony of the white colour, of which the main part of garment was woven.

The available texts suggest that in Sippar a *lubāru* garment belonged to the garment of the gods, with an exception concerning that of the goddess Anunītu. From Cyr 232, we know that the *lubāru* of Anunītu had a *taškisu* ornament made from *tabarru* wool (TÚG.ĪI.A SÍG.ĪÉ.ME.DA *taš-kis*, "the *lubāru* with red *taškisu* application")²⁰⁸. The use of alum in the proc-

²⁰⁵ E.g. BM 61498: 10-11; BM 66817: [4']; BM 75552 (= Str II 152/4): 11-12; BM 83801: 6; CT 55, 853: 9'; Cyr 259: 1 (2 *ma-na* K.I.LAL TÚG.HI.<A> ^{tu}g_{šib}*-^{tu}4*1 (coll.).

²⁰⁶ See e.g., BM 50745 obv. I 2' and n. 207 below. In several cases the number can be reconstructed without any risk.

²⁰⁷ Cf. Nbn 826: 9-10 ([2 *ma-na* K.I.LAL TÚG.UD.A] ^u šib-tu₄ šá ^dĪAR ¹⁰[ina lib-bi] ¹6' GÍN SÍG.ZA.GÍN.KUR.RA) with Nbn 880: 1-3, Cam 66: 1-2 and CT 55,853: 1-2 (1/2 *ma-na* 6 GÍN SÍG.ZA.GÍN.KUR.RA *a-na* TÚG.UD.A šá ^dUTU ^u ^dBu-ne-ne). Cf. also CT 55, 861: 3-4 (1/2 *ma-na* *a-na* TÚG.ĪI.A šá ^dUTU 6 GÍN *a-na* TÚG.ĪI.A šá ^dĪAR ⁴PAP 1/2 *ma-na* 6 GÍN) and Nbn 217: 1-3 (1/2! *ma-na* 6! GÍN SÍG.¹ZA¹.GÍN.[KUR.RA] ²TA ŠUⁱⁱ *a-na* TÚG.ĪI.A šá ^d[UTU] ³u ^dĪAR). Some confusion results from BM 64093 = Bertin 2732: 1-4 (26.12.Dar 34) where we read: 1/2 *ma-na* 6 GÍN SÍG.ZA.GÍN.[KUR.RA] ²*a-na* TUG.UD.A šá ^dUTU ^u ³hu-ša-ni-¹e¹ šá ^dUTU ^u ⁴TÚG.UD.A šá ^dĪAR. The possible explanation is that the scribe forgot to count the weight of blue-purple wool used for the manufacture of the *hušannu* for Šamaš.

²⁰⁸ Cyr 232: 25. Cf. also BM 68348+: 17 ([x TÚG].ĪI.A {*a-na*} *taš-ki*[s. The other texts mentioning TUG.ĪI.A of Anunītu are: Nbk 2: 2; Nbn 415: 5-6 (always one).

ess of dyeing of the *lubāru* Anunītu is also mentioned in Nbn 1061.²⁰⁹ These tasks might have belonged to the duties of the *šābē* [*ēpeš dul*]li *ša Anunītu* (Nbn 662: 9–10).

Some similarity between the quantity and quality of *lubāru* garments in Sippar and in Uruk should be noted. In both cities the *lubāru* for gods or goddesses were made of wool. As in Sippar, in Uruk the heaviest and probably most elaborate *lubāru* was reserved for the head of the pantheon, i.e. Ištar-ša-Uruk and it was made of white wool.²¹⁰ According to available data, in Sippar the *lubāru* was reserved for a god, except for Anunītu, while in Uruk, on the contrary, the *lubāru* was known only as a garment for two goddesses, Ištar-ša-Uruk and Bēltu-ša-Rēš. This contrast is in fact only apparent, since the common factor is that in both cities *lubāru* formed the main part of the garment of the gods/goddesses who occupy the first position in the local pantheon.

UVB 15, 40: 10'–11', a late Hellenistic text from Uruk, is important because we learn from it that a priest or other temple personnel engaged in the performance of cultic ceremonies could also use a *lubāru* garment. The most precious was the *lubāru* made of linen, which was used exclusively by a lamentation priest (*kalū*) or by a consecrated chief lamentation priest (*galamaḥḥu*);²¹¹ if the latter intends to play on the kettledrum (*lilissu*) he should take off his *lubāru* and wear an ordinary TÚG.KUR.RA garment (l. 13'–15'). The garment was also used by other members of the cult personnel, then probably made of wool and worn over other garments (rev.2'–7'). It seems that the statues of gods were dressed in a similar way.

1.2. The *šibtu* (TÚG.MÁŠ)

The *šibtu* ranks second after the *lubāru* in the catalogue of the Šamaš garments in the *dullu pešû* lists. The same second position is also adopted by the *šibtu* in the list of garments in Uruk. According to the above mentioned UVB 15, 40, the *lubāru* could be used by the consecrated priest but exclusively during a strictly cultic performance, while the *šibtu* belonged to the garments of an unconsecrated lamentation priest.

The data concerning the *šibtu* garments from Sippar and Uruk are presented in the following tables:

²⁰⁹ Lines 3–4: [*a-na ši-pi*] ⁴šá TÚG.HI.A šá ^dA-nu-ni-tu₄.

²¹⁰ In Uruk the use of white wool for manufacturing *lubāru* was clearly stated many times.

²¹¹ UVB 15, 40: 10'–12'. Four *šibtus* are mentioned in BM 50209+: 2, but in unclear context, see commentary there.

TABLE 22: The *šibtu* garments in the texts from Sippar

Gods	Weight of main yarn	Colour of main yarn	Additional yarn	Colour of additional yarn
Anunītu	16 minas ²¹²	(white)	30 shekels or 1 mina of <i>tabarru</i> wool	
Šamaš	10 minas	(white)	n.m.	n.m.
Adad	5 minas ²¹³	(white)	n.m.	n.m.
Gula	2 minas ²¹⁴	(white)	n.m.	n.m.
Bunene	40 shekels ²¹⁵	(white?)	n.m.	n.m.
Aya	n.m. ²¹⁶			
Šarrat Sippar	n.m.			
Šala	n.m. ²¹⁷			

TABLE 23: The *šibtu* garments in the texts from Uruk

God(dess)	Weight of main yarn	Colour of main yarn	Colour of additional yarn	Number
Ištar-ša-Uruk	10 minas ²¹⁸	white	n.a.	2 (rarely 3 or 4)
Nanaya	6 minas ²¹⁹	white	n.a.	2 (rarely 1)
Bēltu-ša-Rēš	40 shekels ²²⁰	white	n.a.	2

²¹² Cam 312: 14; Cam 413: 14; CT 44, 73: 10; BM 61762: 16; BM 67848: 1 (16½ *ma-na* [*kitinnū*]).

²¹³ BM 61114: 14; Cam 413: 19 (reconstr.); BM 59723: 13 (reconstr); BM 66924+: 17 (reconstr). These data are reaffirmed by BM 64600: 1–2 and BM 75552 (= Str II 152/4): 13, where 20 minas is the weight of the *lubāru* and the *šibtu*, i.e. 15+5.

²¹⁴ CT 44, 73: 13; BM 67093+: 11.

²¹⁵ CT 55, 806: 12; BM 62119+: 12; Cyr 289: 10 (reconstructed).

²¹⁶ In VS 6, 26: 13 read TUG.BAR.[DIB], contra TUG.[MÁŠ] in SALONEN, NUVI 3, 242.

²¹⁷ In VS 6, 26: 6 the *šibtu* belongs to Adad, not to Šala.

²¹⁸ YOS 17, 301: 2 (4 *šibtu*s weighing 40 minas); YOS 19, 270: 2 (2 *šibtu*s weighing 20 minas), YOS 19, 271: 2 (2 *šibtu*s weighing [20 minas]. Cf. also YOS 7, 183: 1 quoting MÁŠ.ME of white colour weighing 20 minas, i.e. by the comparison with previous texts is clear that the text concern two *šibtu*s. Two *šibtu*s appears in PTS 2094 col. I, obv. 4 and three *šibtu*s in NBC 4750: 5 (both cited by BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 153).

²¹⁹ YOS 17, 301: 6; YOS 19, 270: 6; YOS 19, 271: 7 (two *šibtu*s weighing 12 minas). YOS 7, 183: 9 (6 minas, the weight of one *šibtu* according to collation of BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 200).

Urkayītu	n.m.	n.m.	n.a.	2 ²²¹
Ušur-amassu	6 minas 30 shekels ²²²	white	n.a.	2
Gula	n.m. ²²³	n.m.	n.a.	1
IGI.DU of Udannu	n.m. ²²⁴	n.m.	n.a.	4
Bēlēte	1 mina 10 shekels or 1 mina 20 shekels(?) ²²⁵	white	n.a.	2 (?)

n.m. = weight not mentioned, i.e. the appropriate data is at present missing.

n.a. = garment is not attested.

The weight and number of the *šibtu* of Šamaš in the texts from Sippar is exactly specified, i.e. one *šibtu* weighed 10 minas, but in cycle A²²⁶ two pieces were delivered, while in cycle B there was only one piece, which perhaps depended on the cultic needs in each cycle. The number differs from that given in BM 91002, where in the first cycle Šamaš apparently received four *šibtus*, while in the other there were three. Additionally, according to BM 91002, the *šibtu* had to be made of *kitinnū*, while in almost all texts dated to the end of the seventh to early fifth century B.C. it was made of wool.²²⁷

In the light of the rich material accessible, we can conclude that the *šibtu* was delivered to all three of the most important gods of the Sippar pantheon but only to two goddesses: Anunītu and Gula.

²²⁰ YOS 17, 301: 10 and YOS 7, 183: 16 (1 1/3 minas, the weight of two *šibtus*) and PTS 2094, col. II, obv. 3 (BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 220; two *šibtus*; weight not specified).

²²¹ Mentioned only in PTS 2094, col. II, obv. 18 (BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 258).

²²² YOS 7, 183: 22 (13 minas for [x TÚG].MÁŠ.ME), i.e. 6,5 minas if two *šibtus* were meant there. This is suggested by PTS 2094 col. II, obv. 11 (BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 244) where two *šibtus* are mentioned (weight not specified).

²²³ The only text mentioning the *šibtu* of Gula in Uruk is PTS 2094, col. II, rev. 32 (1 TÚG.MÁŠ) published by BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 277.

²²⁴ The *šibtu* of IGI.DU of Udannu is mentioned only in YOS 17, 307: 2 (4 TÚG.MÁŠ.MEŠ). For reading the place-name, see BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 290.

²²⁵ GC 2, 121: 5 (2 minas 20 shekels, the weight of *šibtus*), but 2 minas 40 shekels in PTS 2282: 10 (cited by BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon in Uruk*, p. 181: TÚG.MÁŠ (without plural)); PTS 2094, col. II, rev. 25 (BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon in Uruk*, p. 180) gives four *šibtus*. If in GC 2, 121 and PTS 2282 two *šibtus* were meant, it means that the one *šibtu* weighed 70 or 80 shekels, or 35 or 40 if four *šibtus* were meant.

²²⁶ Appropriate texts, in cycle order, will be published in Part 2.

²²⁷ See above, p. 25f.

The fact that the *šibtu* belonged to the set of garments of Anunītu in texts from Sippar can be explained by the similarity of her clothes to the clothes of the gods, but I cannot find reasons concerning the goddess Gula. The small weight in comparison with Anunītu suggests that her *šibtu* was rather short and less elaborate. The *šibtu* of the goddess Anunītu was the heaviest and probably the most elaborate of all *šibtu*-garments, as in all the texts mentioning the weight of this item (16 minas), the word (spelled *šib-tu₄*) is never followed by a plural marker. This is also true for CT 56, 5 where half a talent of *kitinnū* and two minas of *tabarru* wool were given to the weavers Bakūa and Nabū-upnīya for the manufacture of two *ši-ba-ta* for Anunītu. We can thus assume that 16 minas – the weight of one *šibtu* of Anunītu – consisted in this case of 15 minas of material, probably white, and one mina of red dyed material. BM 67848,²²⁸ dated to the year of coregency of Cyrus and Cambyses (538 B.C.), shows that in the later periods the weight increased by half a mina to 16.5 minas, which suggests that 16 minas was the weight of white wool and the coloured wool had decreased to 30 shekels, i.e. the same amount as in the case of the *lubāru* of Šamaš.

The question of *kitinnū* used for manufacturing the *šibtu* was discussed earlier, see pp. 25ff.

The *dullu pešū* lists do not allow us to determine better the functions of this garment but the fact that the *šibtu* ranks second in the garments sets of Šamaš and Anunītu, i.e. the two deities whose *dullu pešū* lists are known, suggests that it was an important element of the gods' suites. Only texts from Uruk concerning garments used by different groups of cultic personnel suggest that the statues of deities might have been wrapped in a *šibtu*. This seems clear from the ritual text UVB 15, 40: 12', according to which a *kalū* priest was wrapped in a *šibtu* and girdled with two *mēzeḫu*-belts.²²⁹ In the light of rev. 3' of the same text members of a different category of cultic personnel were dressed with a *šibtu* garment without a fringe (*sis-siktu*), girdled with thin *ḫuṣannu* over which a *lubāru*-garment was placed. Because from Uruk a large (GAL) and small (TUR) *šibtu* are known (YOS 17, 249: 2–3), it seems possible that a *lubāru* was put on a small *šibtu*. CT 55, 834 demonstrates that for the manufacture of a *šibtu* yarn recycled from an old *lubāru* was used; this might suggest that the garment was not ex-

²²⁸ Cf. ZAWADZKI, *RA* 90, p. 173, no. 2, however, the gap in l. 1 should most probably be filled by [*ki-tin-ni-e*], not [ŠIG.ĪI.A šá]. Such a possibility is suggested by the fact that the manufacturing of *šibtu* was entrusted to Bunene-šimanni, the *išpar kitē*, cf. BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 325 f. Manufacturing of *šibtu* of Anunītu by Bunene-šimanni is suggested also by BM 74670, where he received 18 minas of linen 1 mina of *ḫūratu*-dye (GIS*.ĪAB*, contra Bongenaar IS.SI or GADA.SI), 1 *qa* of *gabū*-alum for *ti-mu-tu₄ ša Anunītu* (and?) 1 shekel of silver *ina pappasu ša* ^{tu₄}*šib*-tu₄* (contra Bongenaar: [*ti-mu*]-*tu₄*).

²²⁹ Text cited by KESSLER, AOAT 267, p. 250; cf. CAD N I 82.

posed to public audience and that it was not an outer, but rather an inner outfit.²³⁰

A few texts (CT 55, 834; CT 56, 5 and BM 64060 = Bertin 2354) cited in discussing the meaning of the *kitinnû* indicate, however, that *šibtu* was also used as a bed cover for Šamaš or Adad. Thus, we can assume that the *šibtu* was not a specific garment but a piece of material of unique shape (probably rectangular in size)²³¹ and colours, which could have been used both to wrap a statue or altar on which the statue stood and also for other purposes, i.e. as a bed coverlet. The possibility of adapting a *šibtu* for different purposes was not a unique feature of this garment only; the *hullānu*, too, played such a double role: as part of clothing and as a bed cover.²³² Such a function is also suggested by BM 32206+: 7, where a *šibtu* is used for covering (*halāpu*) a statue or the bull.²³³

It is interesting to note that the weight of a *šibtu* garment in Uruk correlates with the position of the gods. The heaviest was a *šibtu* of Ištar of Uruk (*Bēltu-ša-Uruk*),²³⁴ next that of Nanaya (her *šibtu* weighed ca. half of the *šibtu* of the former), and then *Bēltu-ša-Rēš*, i.e. the first, second and third in the pantheon of Uruk. Only texts from Uruk clearly state that this garment was made of white wool, while texts from Sippar do not describe its colour.²³⁵ It should be noted that as yet we have no data concerning the *šibtu* of Gula in Uruk, which differs from the situation in Sippar.

1.3. From *lubār ziqqu* to *lubār mē qaqqadi* (TÚG.ĤI.A *me-e* SAG.(DU))

In the catalogue of clothes for Šamaš in the *dullu pešû* lists the third position, after the *lubāru* (TÚG.ĤI.A) and *šibtu* (MAŠ) and before the *sūnu* (TÚG.ÚR), is occupied by a garment of the exact weight of two minas. While the position in the lists and the weight is always the same, the name of this garment can be written differently; moreover, the differences in the name are so important that we cannot recognize them as various forms of the same name. In order to clarify further discussion I first quote all writings known from the *dullu pešû* lists:

²³⁰ This is also confirmed in rev. 3'-4' of the text quoted, where the *lubāru* is put on the *šibtu*.

²³¹ According to M. Houston the Mesopotamian clothes were based on a pieces of rectangular materials draped upon a figure (HOUSTON 2002, Chapt. X and XI).

²³² Nbn 660: 1^{en} GADA *hu-ul-la-nu* 2^{TA} *nak-ma-ru šá* 14 GADA.MEŠ 3^{a-na} GIŠ.NÁ *šá* 4^{UTU}, "one *hullānu* from the chest containing 14 pieces of linen for the bed of Šamaš."

²³³ Published by ÇAĞIRGAN and LAMBERT, JCS 43–45.

²³⁴ Its weight – 10 minas – is equal with one *šibtu* of Šamaš of Sippar.

²³⁵ A white colour of the *šibtu* seems probable on the basis of the texts concerning the garments for Anunītu where in the heading *dullu pešû* and *dullu tabarru* is mentioned. The first part concerns most probably the *lubāru* and the *šibtu* while the second concerns other elements of her garment.

1. *lu-bar ziq-<qu>*²³⁶
2. *lu-ba-ri ziq-qu*²³⁷
3. TÚG.ĤI.A *ziq-<qu>*²³⁸
4. TÚG.ĤI.A *ziq-qu*²³⁹
5. TÚG.ĤI.A *ziq-tu*²⁴⁰
6. *lu-ba-ri me-si-qu*²⁴¹
7. TÚG.ĤI.A *me-si-iq*²⁴²
8. TÚG.ĤI.A *me-siq-qá*²⁴³
9. TÚG SAG²⁴⁴
10. TÚG.ĤI.A SAG.DU²⁴⁵
11. TÚG *me* SAG²⁴⁶
12. TÚG *me* SAG.DU²⁴⁷
13. TÚG.ĤI.A *me* SAG²⁴⁸
14. TÚG.ĤI.A *me* SAG.DU²⁴⁹
15. TÚG.ĤI.A *me-e* SAG²⁵⁰
16. TÚG.ĤI.A *me-e* SAG.DU²⁵¹
17. TÚG.ĤI.A *me-e* SIG₅.GA²⁵²
18. TÚG.UD.A *me* SAG²⁵³
19. TÚG.UD.A *me* SAG.DU²⁵⁴
20. TÚG.UD.A *me-e* SAG.DU²⁵⁵
21. [TÚ]G.UD.A¹ *me* SAG²⁵⁶

²³⁶ BM 50272: 3 (date broken).

²³⁷ Nbn 284: 26 (Nbn 8); cf. BM 49370: 2 (date broken): *lu-ba-ri-e siq/ziq-qu*.

²³⁸ BM 52361: 3 (12.8.Nbp [x]).

²³⁹ VS 6, 15: 2 (1.VI.Nbp 18);

²⁴⁰ BM 49902: 2 (Nbp? 10).

²⁴¹ BM 49992: 2 (4.I.7 [Nbp or Nbk]).

²⁴² BM 65159: 7 (2.6.Dar 23).

²⁴³ Cyr 232: 7 (7.7.Cyr 6) and CT 55, 806: 8 (1+x 6.[KN x]); BM 68348+: 20 (5.7. [Cyr/Cam] 7) ([T]ÚG.ĤI.A *me-s[iq]-qá*). SALONEN, NUVI 3, 120 (= Cyr 232) suggested reading BAR.SIG.GA, but *me-e* in other texts definitely indicate reading *mē*.

²⁴⁴ Cyr 241: 4 (16.12.Cyr 6).

²⁴⁵ CT 55, 847: 1' (date broken); Nbn 1015: 7 (11.12.Nbn 16).

²⁴⁶ Nbn 320: 5 (5.1.Nbn 9).

²⁴⁷ CT 55, 841: 6 (5.7.Nbn 5).

²⁴⁸ Cyr 289: 5 (4.1.Cyr 8) and probably [TÚG.ĤI.A] *me* SAG in BM 65503: 5 (5.7.[N[bn?]] 16; BM 62108: 5 (2.[x].Cyr 2).

²⁴⁹ Nbn 726: 5 (11.8.Nbn 13); VS 6, 71: 7 (9.8.Nbn 9); BM 74440: 6 (12.12.Nbn 10); BM 83329: 5 (Nbn 7); BM 68982: 6 ([x].7.Nbn 14; TÚG.ĤI.A *me* [SAG.DU]).

²⁵⁰ VS 6, 28: 9 (5.I.Nbk 8); Nbn 826:5 (4.1.Nbn 15) (not SAG.[DU] as in NUVI 3, 79).

²⁵¹ CT 55, 844: 2' (5.[x].Nbk 19).

²⁵² BM 52110+ BM 52541: 18 (2.6b.Nbk 5).

²⁵³ BM 54818+: 5 (-.1.Cyr 6); BM 63993(= Bertin 1867): 8 (1.6.Camb 5).

²⁵⁴ CT 55, 801: 5 (11.2.(Dar) 15; [SAG.DU] reconstructed, however, there is enough place for two signs).

²⁵⁵ CT 44, 73: 4, 8 (7.2.Camb 1).

²⁵⁶ BM 61517: 6 (30.5.Camb 7).

22. TÚG.UD.A *me-e*¹ šá SIG²⁵⁷
23. SÍG.UD.HI.A *me-e* SIG²⁵⁸
24. TÚG.UD.𐎶𐎶𐎶.[A *me*]-𐎶𐎶¹ šá SIG²⁵⁹
25. ^{túg}*lu-ba-ra me* SAG.[DU]²⁶⁰
26. TÚG SIG²⁶¹
27. TÚG.HI.A SIG²⁶²
28. TÚG.HI.A SIG²⁶³-*qa*
29. TÚG *me* SIG²⁶⁴
30. TÚG.UD.A *me* SIG²⁶⁵

From the comparison of attestations Nos. 1-2 and Nos. 3-5 with BM 91002 it can be concluded that in these texts *lubār ziqqu* is meant. In Nos. 6-8 TÚG.HI.A/*lubāru* is followed by *me* and *si-qu*, *si-iq* or *siq-qa*. It is probable that *siqqu/a* is a by-form of *ziqqu*²⁶⁶ resulting from the transition of the voiced sibilant *z* to the voiceless *s*. The appearance of *me* and the observation of subsequent spellings raise the suspicion that the scribe meant perhaps a garment different from a *lubār ziqqu*. In many texts *me*²⁶⁷ (in some texts it looks like *bar*) or *me-e* is followed by SAG, SAG.DU or SÍG, SIG₅, SIG₅^{qá} (= GA). It is also quite likely that instead of *siq-qa* we ought to read SIG^{qá} and instead of *siq-qu* – SIG^{qu}.

The most serious problem is connected with the reading of the element *me*. Salonen proposed to read TÚG.HI.A ME.SAG.DU,²⁶⁸ which according to Bongenaar “does not make sense.” His own idea of TÚG.HI.A.ME SAG.DU, where ME would have to be “a second plural marker”,²⁶⁹ is excluded by the frequent reading *me-e*. It is essential to explain the circumstances in which *me* appears. It is appropriate to compare the above readings with the set of Šamaš garments from BM 91002, which most likely is

²⁵⁷ BM 66924+: 7 (<-> 8.Dar 30).

²⁵⁸ BM 61162: 10 (12.12.Dar 15). SÍG – a scribe’s error for TÚG?

²⁵⁹ BM 61498: 6 (5.1.Camb 6).

²⁶⁰ BM 78926: 3’ (date broken)

²⁶¹ BM 51498: 6 (12.12.Nbp 18).

²⁶² BM 49268: 3 (3.1.Nbp 17); BM 82578: 4 (5.7.Nbk 2); BM 49471: 4 (5.6².Nbk 9); BM 49416: 3 (1.6.Nbk 10); BM 79386: 2 (Nb[p/k] 12).

²⁶³ BM 50439: 3 (date broken, [Nbp or Nbk]).

²⁶⁴ BM 83776: 63 (date broken).

²⁶⁵ BM 68413: 6 ([x].1.Camb 6).

²⁶⁶ It should be noted though that TÚG *siq-qí* is known already from Middle-Babylonian texts, see ARO, *Kleidertexte*, p. 32.

²⁶⁷ *me* is sometimes very similar to or written identically to *bar*, hence SALONEN, NUVI 3, 120 (= Cyr 232) reads BAR.SIG.GA and recognised in it Akkadian *paršīgu* (cf. NUVI 3, p. 135).

²⁶⁸ Cf. NUVI 3, p. 138 (under ME.SANG and MA (misprint for ME).SANG.DU. For TÚG.HI.A SAG.DU Salonen proposed reading *lubār qaqqadi* (ibid. p. 139, under SANG.DU), not realising that it was used exactly in the same place and context where in other texts we have TUG.HI.A *me* SAG.DU or the other readings mentioned above.

²⁶⁹ BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 304.

a copy of the original regulation of Nabû-apal-iddina on clothes for specific periods in the year. As was already mentioned, the reading *lubār ziq* of our text is related to *lubār ziqqi* from this regulation. Although we now have access to a great number of texts mentioning the set of clothes for Šamaš and also other texts referring to the manufacturing of clothing by specific weavers, none of them mentions the *mēzeḥu*²⁷⁰ listed in Nabû-apal-iddina's regulation. Interesting in this context is the reading *me siq-qu*, *me siq-qá*, where the consonant *s* most likely appeared as a result of devoicing of *z*. It seems that the reading is a mixture of two separate words: *lubār ziq-qu* and *lubār me-ze-ḥu*, each time with *s* derived from devoiced *z*. The reading could stem from a long break in the cultic practices and the non-observance of the norms set by Nabû-apal-iddina's regulation. The short period of stability in Babylonia under this ruler in the ninth century was followed by quite a long period of instability and the rule of Assyrians, who were not concerned with the local cult in Sippar. One characteristic fact demonstrating the temple's poverty can be quoted here.

Text BM 49172, dated to the twelfth year of Kandalanu, documents a delivery by the *šakin māti* of 1 talent 53 minas of wool, valued at 17 shekels of silver, for Šamaš. It shows that the temple's own household at that time was not able to supply a sufficient quantity of wool to make clothes even for the highest god of Sippar. There is no doubt that in Babylonia, once freed from Assyrian rule, an effort was made to revive the cult in accordance with old principles, hence the desire to prepare the clothes in accordance with traditional norms. The comparison of clothing for Šamaš from Nabopolassar's period and the first decades of Nebuchadnezzar's rule leaves no doubts that the norms contained in Nabû-apal-iddina's regulation were never (and not afterwards either) closely observed. The lack of consistency in the garment names, demonstrated in the spellings mentioned above, shows that Nabû-apal-iddina's regulation cannot have been observed for a fairly long time and that new names and new elements in divine garments appeared in the meantime. The differences of opinion concerning the name under discussion turned out to be so fundamental that variation was evident almost until the end of Darius' reign (for which we possess appropriate documents), even though the reading *lubār me qaqqadi* dominates. The appearance of this reading probably resulted in many heated debates. Neither the reading *siqqu* nor *me siqqu* or *mesiqu* won approval, especially since no way was found for explaining it. An attempt seems to have been made with the reading *lubār mē SIG₅^{qa}*, where *siq*, difficult to explain, was replaced by the element SIG₅, understood as an

²⁷⁰ The word appears in the texts from Uruk: PTS 3853: 6 (26.4.Nbn 7), see KESSLER 1999; YOS 7, 183: 3 (25.11.Camb 6) and ritual text UVB 15, 40: 12, where *mēzeḥu* is part of a garment of a priest of lower rank and the owner of the prebend (cf. KESSLER, id, p. 250). Cf. also ÇAĞIRGAN and LAMBERT, JCS 43–45, p. 8 (BM 32206+: 8) concerning the Kislīmu Ritual for the Esagila temple.

indication of quality. Along with this another proposal appeared, replacing *siq-qu* and SIG_5^{qa} with SAG.DU (or SAG, which would be a abbreviated form of SAG.DU), for which the only possible reading is *qaqqadu* “head.” The reading SAG.DU could be understood as an attempt to depart from the discussion on what the name of garment was by emphasising its function. TÚG.ĪLA and TÚG.UD.ĪLA, sometimes abbreviated to TÚG, is used clearly for the *lubāru*, but the fact that *lu-ba-ra* is sometimes preceded by the determinative TÚG indicates that the full name of the garment was *lubār mē qaqqadi*, although abbreviation to *mē qaqqadi* or *lubār qaqqadi* (TÚG SAG/TÚG SAG.DU) in the preserved texts is quite common.

With the exception of three contexts, *lubār mē qaqqadi* occurs as a garment for Šamaš. The lack of clothes for other male gods makes it impossible to determine whether or not this garment appeared in the set of clothing for all other gods worshipped in Sippar. However, BM 49621: 4 (22[+x].11[?].Nbk 12) and CT 44, 73: 8 mention the *lubār mē qaqqadi* of Šarrat Sippar. This last text, belonging in the category of the *dullu pešū* dated to 7th Ayaru of the first year of Cambyses (529 B.C.), is quite unusual because it is one of the few cases where not only the *hušannu* but also the *sūnu* and the *lubār mē qaqqadi* appear among the clothes prepared for this goddess. It can be assumed that some disturbance might have occurred in the functioning of the small sanctuary households, because the same text contains also a long list of clothes for other goddesses; on the other hand there is no complete set for the god Bunene. Probably, the goddess Annunītu also received the *lubār mē qaqqadi*-garment.²⁷¹

The weight of *lubār mē qaqqadi* depended on which god it was meant for:

1. for Šamaš: 2 minas
2. for Šarrat Sippar: 1 mina (CT 44, 73: 8) or only 40 shekels²⁷²
3. for Anunītu: unknown

The known texts never mention the wool colour of the *lubār mē qaqqadi*, which suggests that this was white. It should be noted that the garment is not known from Uruk where, however, at least a few times the *mēzeḫu* – perhaps a garment similar to *lubār mē qaqqadi*, if not the same – is known.

1.4. The *hušannu* (TÚG.NÍG.ÍB.LÁ)

Modern dictionaries list two meanings of *hušannu*: 1. sash, and 2. belt (CAD H 259b and in the successive volumes) or “Leibbinde” (AHw 261a). *Hušannu* is written either syllabically or with the sumerogram

²⁷¹ BM 83776 (date broken), rev. 1–2: TÚG me SIG_5 šá^d A-nu-ni-tu₄

²⁷² According to BM 49621 two minas was the weight of one *sūnu* (20 shekels), one *lubār mē qaqqadi* and 10 *hušannus* (1 mina), i.e. for one *lubār mē qaqqadi* only 40 shekels is left.

TÚG.NÍG.ÍB.LÁ. We have, however, BM 67093+, in which in the places where other texts contain syllabic or ideographic writings of *hušannu*, a reading TÚG.NÍG.UB.BAL appears, and BM 65146 in which this ideogram occurs in the form TÚG.ÍB.BAL. The latter corresponds to the Akkadian reading *nēbettu* “girdle” and the same reading should probably be accepted for TUG.NÍG.UB.BAL. Both texts suggest that the functions of the *hušannu* and the *nēbettu* were similar. Use of the *hušannu* as a girdle is supported by UVB 15, 40: rev. 4’, according to which the member of the cultic personnel is wrapped in a *šibtu* and girdled with a thin *hušannu*.²⁷³ When we attempt to define the function of the *hušannu*, we must take into consideration the fact that their number varied between five and ten pieces in accordance with the deity for whom they were destined. This differentiation in number and weight of the *hušannu* for each deity seems to exclude the possibility that one *hušannu* was used during successive ceremonies, because we would have to assume that the number of ceremonies with the participation of the deities of lower rank was higher than, for example, those with the participation of Šamaš. Thus, it seems that all *hušannus* constituted a single decorative element. Different weights (and, consequently, lengths and widths) as well as numbers emphasised the difference in the apparel of individual deities. Noteworthy is the precise observation of the differentiation of the number of the *hušannus* of Šamaš, depending on the cycle (see below). The location of the *hušannus* as part of Šamaš’s attire must have been specific enough to emphasize (presumably besides other elements) the distinction in the clothing in accordance to the cycle. Another method could have been easily noticeable differentiation by colour. All this leads me to suggest that the *hušannu*, which in several contexts probably did function as a belt, in other situations could have served as a sort of a decorative element in the shape of a sash or ribbons.

The number and weight of the *hušannus* varied in accordance with the position of the gods or goddesses. Without doubt Šamaš’s *hušannus* were distinctive: 7 in cycle A and 6 in cycle B, and their weight was greater: 10 shekels each. The goddesses Aya, Šarrat Sippar and Anunītu received 10 *hušannus* each, and the distinction showed in their differing weights. The heaviest were the *hušannus* of Anunītu (7 shekels each), slightly less the *hušannus* of Aya and Šarrat Sippar (6 shekels each) which means that this element marked the goddesses’ status only to a limited extent, since in the pantheon Anunītu was less important than both Aya and Šarrat Sippar. On the other hand, the number and weight of *hušannus* of the remaining deities corresponded to their status: Adad and Šala, like Gula, received five each, but the *hušannus* for Adad and Šala weighed five shekels each, whereas for Gula only three shekels each. More troublesome is the calculation of the

²⁷³ It also suggests that different type(s) of *hušannu*, i.e. ones which were not thin, were also in use.

number of the *hušannus* for the “Daughters of Ebabbar.” In several texts from the early years of Nebuchadnezzar they received eight *hušannus* but as far as their weight goes there is no relevant data. If we assume that there were two “Daughters of Ebabbar” (see below), then four *hušannus* were destined for each, but we do not know whether this number reflects a norm or an exceptional situation. Only the early texts mention 5 *hušannus* for Bunene, again without the weight. For clarity the above data can be summed up in the following table:

TABLE 24: The *hušannus* in the attire of gods and goddesses in Sippar

God or Goddess	Number	Weight of one <i>hušannu</i>
Šamaš	7 (cycle A) 6 (cycle B)	10 shekels
Anunītu	10	7 shekels
Aya	10	6 shekels
Šarrat Sippar	10	6 shekels
Šala +Adad	5+5	5 shekels
Gula	5	3 shekels
<i>mārāt Ebabbar</i>	8	Unknown
Bunene	5	Unknown

TABLE 25: The *hušannus* in the attire of gods and goddesses in Uruk

God(dess)	Weight of one <i>hušannu</i>	Number	Colour
Ištar-ša-Uruk	10 or 11 shekels ²⁷⁴	10	white
Ištar-ša-Uruk	10 shekels ²⁷⁵	1	<i>tabarru ša inzaḥurētu</i>
Nanaya	10 or 11 shekels ²⁷⁶	10	white

²⁷⁴ YOS 17, 301: 3 (100 shekels, the weight of 10 *hušannus*.); YOS 7, 183: 2 and YOS 19, 270: 3 (110 shekels, the weight of 10 *hušannus*). In YOS 19, 271: 3 the weight is damaged, but the number is 10 *hušannus*. 11 *hušannus*, among them one made of *tabarru* wool (obviously *tabarru ša inzaḥurētu* was meant) appears also in NBC 4750: 9 (BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 153). The question is whether in all the texts where it is stated that 10 *hušannus* weighed 110 shekels, the scribe mentions only white yarn used for ten *hušannus*, while the weight of coloured yarn is not stated.

²⁷⁵ YOS 7, 183: 5 (*hušannu* is not followed here by *tabarru ša inzaḥurēti* but the comparison with the text mentioning in this note made certain that such kind of wool was meant here, too); YOS 17, 301: 4; YOS 19, 270: 4; YOS 19, 271: 4; PTS 3257: 5 (BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 154).

²⁷⁶ YOS 7, 183: 11 (100 shekels, the weight of 10 *hušannus*.); YOS 19, 270: 7 and YOS 19, 271: 9 (110 shekels, the weight of 10 *hušannus*).

Ušur-amāssu	10 or 11 shekels ²⁷⁷	10	white
Urkayītu	10 or 11 shekels ²⁷⁸	10	white
Bēltu-ša-Rēš	5 shekels ²⁷⁹	5 or 7	white
Gula	10 shekels ²⁸⁰	5	white
^d IGI.DU	5 shekels ²⁸¹ or 10 ²⁸²	5	white
Bēlēte	2.5 shekels ²⁸³	6	white
Ahlamayītu	unknown	3 ²⁸⁴	unknown
the Divine <i>Urdimmu</i>	unknown ²⁸⁵	unknown	unknown

Only a few texts from Sippar – all referring to Anunītu – describe the colour of a *hušannu*. According to Nbn 794, blue-purple wool (*takiltu*) was used²⁸⁶ for manufacturing her *hušannu* while in Cyr 191:15–16, the text containing a settlement of accounts for both kinds of wool, red wool (*tabarru*) was utilised. The most detailed description of her *hušannu* is contained in BM 75767 = Bertin 1399: 11–14, where we find that it was made from red wool, with the internal part (*libbu*) from blue-purple wool. In Uruk Ištar-ša-Uruk has 10 *hušannus* in white and one in red made with *inzahurētu* dye. Maybe the same concerned Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu, who also received 11 *hušannus*. In general the number of *hušannus* in the attire of goddesses in Uruk is greater than the number of *hušannus* in the attire of gods (and less clearly) of goddesses in Sippar.

1.5. The *sūnu*

The *sūnu* known from the *dullu pešū* lists was part of the attire of almost all the deities worshipped in Sippar.²⁸⁷ The norm was, as it seems, one *sūnu*

²⁷⁷ YOS 17, 301: 13 (100 shekels, the weight of 10 *hušannus*); TOTTEN 32: 3; YOS 19, 270: 10 and YOS 19, 271: 12 (110 shekels, the weight of 10 *hušannus*); YOS 7, 183: 23 (110 shekels, the weight of [10] *hušannus*).

²⁷⁸ GC 2, 365: 2 (100 shekels, the weight of 10 *hušannus*); TOTTEN 32: 3 (110 shekels, the weight of [10] *hušannus*).

²⁷⁹ YOS 7, 183: 17; YOS 19, 270: 9 and YOS 19, 271: 11 (25 shekels, the weight of 5 *hušannus*); YOS 17, 301: 11 (35 shekels, the weight of 7 *hušannus*).

²⁸⁰ YOS 7, 183: 26; YOS 17, 301: 19; YOS 19, 271: 13 (50 shekels, the weight of 5 *hušannus*).

²⁸¹ GC 2, 105: 2 (25 shekels, the weight of 5 *hušannus*)

²⁸² GC 2, 121: 10; GC 2, 365: 6 (50 shekels, the weight of 5 *hušannus*).

²⁸³ GC 2, 121: 6; GC 2, 365: 4 (15 shekels, the weight of 6 *hušannus*).

²⁸⁴ Known only from PTS 2881: 6 (see BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 309) and YBC 9030: 6 (*ibid.*, but the quality is not stated).

²⁸⁵ Known only from YBC 7436: 43 (see BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 361).

²⁸⁶ Three shekels of wool were used for this purpose, which is almost half the weight of a *hušannu* for Anunītu. It seems that the text does not mean a number of *hušannus* but refers to a general statement that the wool was destined for the one *hušannu*.

²⁸⁷ The only exceptions concern *mārāt Ebabbar* and Šala.

for each deity, apart from Šamaš and Aya, who regularly received four *sūnus* – probably two for each deity.²⁸⁸ Two *sūnus* could have belonged also to the attire of Anunītu, as appears from Cam 312 in which $\frac{2}{3}$ * (coll.) mina of wool is the weight of her two *sūnus*. There are reasons to believe that the clothing of Šala, the spouse of Adad, included no *sūnu* at all. It is noteworthy that the *dullu pešû* lists usually contain 10 *ḥušannus* and one *sūnu* for Adad and Šala, but several texts clearly state that a *sūnu* is destined for Adad.²⁸⁹ If indeed the clothing for Šala did not include the *sūnu*-belt, perhaps her outfit – compared to that of other deities – was less formal. In some way this might have been connected with her role as a goddess of harvest.

It is interesting to note that the presently known texts from Uruk suggest that the *sūnu* was not included in the attire of the greatest goddesses of that city. It is known only in connection with the Urkayītu,²⁹⁰ Bēlēte,²⁹¹ IGI.DU,²⁹² and Dumuzi.²⁹³ The second difference concerns the weight of the *sūnu*. While in Sippar its weight, irrespective of god or goddess, was always the same, i.e. 20 shekels,²⁹⁴ in Uruk it differed substantially: 2.5 shekels was the weight of the *sūnu* of Bēlēte, 30 shekels of Urkayītu and 50 shekels of Dumuzi, i.e. the proportions are 1: 12 and 1: 20.

The exact size of the *sūnus* is not known but in some texts from the time of Nabonidus²⁹⁵ the width of a *sūnu* is designated by the word *pušku* “the width of the palm” which is calculated as $\frac{1}{6}$ of cubit, i.e. ca. 8 centime-

²⁸⁸ Despite the fact that the delivery concerns four *sūnus*, several texts mention as an addressee only the god Šamaš. One may treat him as representing the married couple or this may be an abbreviated form used in a few cases owing to a lack of space.

²⁸⁹ Cf. BM 51099, obv. 1 9': 1 *ma-na* 10 GÍN KIL.LAL 1^{en} TÚG.ÚR 5 TÚG.NÍG.ÍB.LÁ.MEŠ ^{10'}šá dIM 5 TÚG.NÍG.ÍB.LÁ.MEŠ šá dŠa-la, with BM 62582+: ¹⁵ $\frac{1}{3}$ GÍN KIL.LAL TÚG.ÚR šá dIM ¹⁶50 GÍN KIL.LAL 10 TÚG.NÍG.ÍB.LÁ.MEŠ šá dIM u dŠa-la and with BM 74440: ¹¹1¹ *ma-na* $\frac{1}{3}$ GÍN KIL.LAL 10 TÚG.NÍG.ÍB.LÁ.MEŠ ¹²1²TÚG.ÚR šá dIM ù dŠa-la. Only in Nbn 826: 12 is there $\frac{2}{3}$ GÍN KIL.LAL 2 *su-ú-nu* šá dIM u dŠa-la, which might be a scribal error for Anunītu (cf. Cam 312: 16, where 2 *sūnus* for her are mentioned). Strange is also CT 55, 806: 9 ($2\frac{1}{2}$ *ma-na* KIL.LAL 5 ^{10g}*su-ni-e* šá d[.....]), i.e. one *sūnu* weighed 30 shekels.

²⁹⁰ TOTTEN 32: 1–2 (6 *sūnus* weighed 3 minas, i.e. 30 shekels each (the text is omitted in the appropriate place in Beaulieu's book)).

²⁹¹ TOTTEN 32: 6, according to which 6 *sūnus* weighed only 15 shekels, i.e. 2.5 shekels each. It means most probably that each Lady received 3 *sunūs*.

²⁹² UCP 9/2, 31: 2 where 3 *sūnus* followed by 5 *ḥušannus* weighing a total of 2 minas 20 shekels (i.e. far too much for all these items) are mentioned.

²⁹³ GC 2, 108: 2 (one *sūnu* weighing 50 shekels) and PTS 3257:9 (mentioning also one *sunū* for Dumuzi), see BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 336.

²⁹⁴ Only Nbn 320: 9 mentions eight *sūnus* weighing $1\frac{5}{6}$ minas for Šamaš and Aya; however, it is a result of the scribal error, as in other texts there are four *sūnus* weighing $1\frac{1}{3}$ minas.

²⁹⁵ Nbn 492: 7; Nbn 696: 32.

tres.²⁹⁶ We do not know, however, whether this information was given because this size was atypical or whether, on the contrary, other texts omitted this data because the size in question was standard. In CT 55, 91: 12 and in UVB 15, 40: 13' the *sūnu* was made of red *argamannu* (SÍG.SAG) wool,²⁹⁷ but it was destined not for a deity but for an individual, in the latter for a chief lamentation priest. However, according to other texts the *sūnu* was manufactured from *kibsu*,²⁹⁸ which is always preceded with the determinative for linen (GADA). These texts suggest also that *sūnu* made of linen were not woven but cut from already manufactured linen cloth (*kibsu*).²⁹⁹

Because the *sūnu* appears usually in the *dullu pešû* lists in the standard position (after *lubāru*, *šibtu*, *hušannu* and *lubār mē qaqqadi*), and in other texts the context does not clarify its function, small wonder that the scholars are extremely cautious and have avoided more precise definitions of its function.

AHw describes the *sūnu* as "Tuch oder eine Binde" and CAD S 388b "a piece of clothing or part thereof." CDA, p. 328 distinguishes a *šubāt sūni* "loincloth" (see under *sūnu* I; the same translation is offered by Beaulieu, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 15ff.; cf. however, p. 7 "a cloth") and *sūnu* II suggesting the meaning "a cloth trimming or sim." Salonen, NUVI 3, follows AHw ("eine Binde"); only a general sense is given by Bongenaar, *Ebabbar*, p. 305 ("cloth").³⁰⁰

That the *sūnu* might have been a head covering is indicated in UVB 15, 40: 13', where it was applied to bind the head.³⁰¹ A similar definition is evident in the An VII list, which contains a list of synonyms of *sūnu*. The synonyms include the words *riksu* and *aparu*; the first appears in many texts, while the noun *aparu* is unknown from others texts, but in numerous texts verbal forms of the root appear, with the certain meaning "to provide with a head-dress, to put a covering on someone's head" (CAD A II 166f.). Especially important is KAR 298: 33 where the *aparu* describes a head-dress, while the *labāšu* describes the remaining parts of the outfit. In *Enūma eliš* I 67 the god Ea must first unbind the *riksu* (this word is synonymous to the *sūnu*) in order to remove the crown from his head; this indicates a meaning "tie, band, sash" or the like. In a Middle-Babylonian

²⁹⁶ AHw 883 b; *Or NS* 37 (1968) 263.

²⁹⁷ See CAD A I 253; LANDSBERGER, *JCS* 21, p. 155. The *argamannu* wool is also mentioned in BM 63993: 15 and in CT 55, 862: 2.

²⁹⁸ Nbk 312: 24; Nbn 694: 25–26; Nbn 1121: 5; Cam 148: 8f.

²⁹⁹ Occasionally, pieces of cloth used for filtering were termed *sūnu*, cf. KAR 220 I 9; IV 4f., and KAR 222 II 10 (cited in CAD S 389 b).

³⁰⁰ See also DIETRICH, SAA 17, p. 188 "sash."

³⁰¹ Oppenheim thus suggested a translation "Schleier" (veil). Because in this text the *sūnu* is made of linen, it is possible that its function is similar to the *sūnu* mentioned in the texts cited in n. 299.

text the *sūnu burki*, the *sūnu qāti* and the *sūnu lappi*, i. e. the *sūnu* for “knee, hand, and lips” appears,³⁰² while in medical texts the *sūnu* functions as a bandage. This is evidence for a wide variety of sizes and functions of a *sūnu*. The cultic and literary texts cited above, in which it is an element of a god’s garment, indicate some connection with a head covering. It is difficult to conclude anything more precise from the fact that in the *dullu pešû* lists, in the list of Šamaš’s garments, this item appears following *lubar mē qaqqadi*. As the latter was a large, elaborated head covering, the *sūnu* could have been a kind of a belt. Judging by the fact that all the four elements enumerated in these lists before *sūnu* had clearly different functions, we can assume that *sūnu*, too, must be ascribed a separate function, which speaks for the “loincloth” function. This problem, however, cannot be solved without additional texts. Moreover, such a broad semantic scope suggests to us that the *sūnu* function changed in response to specific circumstances.

2. Garments included in the *miḫṣu tenû* lists

2.1. The *salḫu*

The proper reading of the name of these garments was not recognised until now and although the polyphony of the sign makes possible the reading *šal-ḫu* as well as *sal-ḫu*, scholars accepted the former reading, i.e. *šal-ḫu*.³⁰³ The authors of the CAD knew the Middle-Babylonian reading *sal-ḫu* and the Neo-Babylonian *sa-al-aḫ*³⁰⁴, but the context in which they appear brought about the opinion that both texts concerned clothing different from *šal-ḫu*. The writing *sa-al-ḫu* in BM 61182 and BM 84287, *sa-al-aḫ* in BM 61785+ and probably [*sa-al*]-*la-a*[*ḫ*]³⁰⁵ in CT 55, 850, rev. 2’ in the same

³⁰² ARO, *Kleidertexte*, p. 31.

³⁰³ CAD Š I 242 f.

³⁰⁴ CAD S 98 b. It concerns CT 57, 259. Its transliteration is as follows:

1. GADA *sa-al-aḫ la ri-ḫi-šu*
2. [šá]¹⁰SANGA UD.KIB.NUN.KI *ul-tu*
3. [x x x]-*tu₄ ki šú i-ša a’*
4. [x x x x *la ri*]-*ḫi-šu a-na*
5. [x x x x]¹⁰UŠ.BAR GADA
6. [SUM^{na} ITI.GU]D’ U[D.x+] 9.KÁM

Rest lost.

“Not washed *salḫu*-garment, which the *šangû* of Sippar has brought from.... (not?) washed [*salḫu*] was given to PN] the weaver of multi-coloured cloth.” The term *riḫiṣu* derivates from *raḫāṣu*, translated in AHw 942b “überschwemmen, spülen”. The text in question suggests to add the meaning “waschen” cited in AHw as present in Semitic.

³⁰⁵ Concerning the loss of final vowel, see HYATT 1941; ARO, *StOr* 46, and MACGINNIS, *Letter Orders*, p. 189ff. with additional literature.

context where the writing *sal/šal-ḫu* has been noted now makes the reading *salḫu* certain.³⁰⁶

The dictionaries (s.v. *šalḫu*) define the *salḫu* only in general terms: “a piece of a linen fabric” (CAD Š I 242 b); “ein Leinengewand für Götterbilder” (AHw 1147 b); similarly Matsushima: “a piece of linen fabric” (*ASJ* 16 (1994) 179, note 9). However, *ASJ* 17 (1995) 244–245 (first position in the “tabulated” Nbn 78, Cyr 7 and Cyr 241) has “used linen cloth”; Beaulieu, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 16 (“a cloth”). Waetzold (Waetzold 1980–1983a, p. 31) accepts the meaning “Leinen-Gewand”, later (Waetzold 1980–1983c, p. 591) he maintains that the *salḫu* and *kibsu* could have served different purposes, i.e. “zur Bekleidung von Gottheiten als Decke über Sitz oder Tisch.”

The fact that the *salḫu* is placed in the first position in all the *miḫṣu tenû* lists makes one regard this particular garment as a basic piece of apparel of the gods. It is worth emphasising that Šamaš and his spouse Aya received each two *salḫus*, while all the remaining deities, irrespective of their sex, received one *salḫu* each. A similar situation is known from Uruk where only the three most important goddesses, i.e. Ištar-ša-Uruk, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš received two *salḫus* each,³⁰⁷ while Ušur-amāssu, Urkâyîtu and Gula received only one each.³⁰⁸ The number of *salḫu* for Adad is not known because the numeral in one text mentioning his *salḫu* is not preserved, see Beaulieu, *The Pantheon in Uruk*, p. 326 (YBC 3561: 11). Two *salḫus* appear also in the attire of Bēlēte, i.e. one for each of two Ladies.³⁰⁹

Due to the lack of other data, an attempt at defining the role of the *salḫu* must be based on analysis of the lists alone and must take into consideration the kind of material of which the garments were woven. There is no doubt that they were made of linen because the word is always preceded by the determinative GADA. Of major significance is the question whether the *salḫu* was an outer part of clothing or, whether it was worn underneath, close to the body. This question can possibly be answered by a logical expectation that, in the case of garments prepared for wrapping the statue of a deity, the “internal” items are listed first. Such a conclusion is also supported by the fact that lists of garments of goddesses always place the *salḫu* in the first position while the *kusîtu*, certainly an outer item in the attire of goddesses, in the last position. It is also significant that the *salḫu*

³⁰⁶ It should be noted that the reading *salḫu* was already suggested by J. Aro, see ARO, *Kleidertexte*, p. 30, but without any argument supporting such a reading.

³⁰⁷ Ištar-ša-Uruk (PTS 2094, col. I, obv. 1, but only one in NBC 4750: 2, see BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 153); Nanaya (PTS 2094, col. I, obv. 9, and PTS 3190:1–7 (6 *salḫus* for Ištar-ša-Uruk, Nanaya and Bēltu-ša-Rēš, id., p. 202 and p. 203, respectively); Bēltu-ša-rēš: PTS 2094, col. II, obv. 1, id., p. 220.

³⁰⁸ Ušur-amāssu: PTS 2094, col. II, obv. 8 (?), see BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 244.; Urkâyîtu: PTS 2094, col. II, obv. 15, id., p. 258; Gula: PTS 2094, col. II, rev. 29, id., p. 277.

³⁰⁹ PTS 2094, col. II, rev. 23, see BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 180.

was made of linen. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the Greek tunic, which was worn on the naked body, in certain periods was the only item of clothing made of linen. The hygienic features and peculiarities of wool thus seem to indicate that the *salḥu* was a counterpart of the tunic, made of one or two parts.

Some *tabû* texts suggest that the new *salḥu* was used as a *kibsu*-cloth whose function cannot, however, be identified. The worn *salḥu* could change its function and be used as a blanket (*taḥapšû*).³¹⁰

Very interesting data, though difficult to interpret, is included in Nbn 164, the settlement of accounts with the linen weaver of the Ebabbar temple from the first year until Ulûlu of the fourth year of Nabonidus. It is one of a few texts in which the linen used for the production of garments is measured by a unit known as a “hand” (*ŠUⁱⁱ*). Although in the first two cases the same garment is meant with absolute certainty, as is also probably true in the remaining two cases, the quantity of material used exhibits considerable variation:

1. 1800 “hands” for 10 *salḥu ša kibsu*, i.e. 180 “hands” for 1 *salḥu ša kibsu*;³¹¹
2. 450 “hands” for one *salḥu ša kibsu*;³¹²
3. 2700 “hands” for 9 *salḥu (ša kibsu)*, i.e. 300 “hands” for 1 *salḥu (ša kibsu)*;³¹³
4. 2000 “hands” for 18 *salḥu (ša kibsu)*, i.e. ca. 111 “hands” for 1 *salḥu (ša kibsu)*.³¹⁴

This suggests either that these particular garments differed in size or that the quantity of material used depended on its quality. This was true at least in the third case, where it was demonstrated that the “thick” (*kabbaru*) linen was used for the production.³¹⁵ The data quoted above does not allow, unfortunately, for any calculation of the size of the *salḥu*. An exception here is Peek, no. 2, where we learn that out of 750 “hands” two fabrics, each 12 cubits in length and 4 cubits in width (i.e., 6 × 2 m) were manufactured. For one fabric of 12 sq. m in size, 375 “hands” were used, i.e. 31.25 “hands” for each square metre fabric.

In some of the texts mentioned above the value of raw material is stated also in silver, which enables us to calculate the price of one garment. According to Nbn 164: 7–8, 21,600 “hands” were worth 2 minas 24 shekels of silver, i.e. 150 “hands” of linen were worth one shekel of silver. Quite a

³¹⁰ Nbn 694: 10–12; Nbn 696: 10–12, Cyr 185: 8–9, and in other *tabû* texts.

³¹¹ Lines 10–11: 10 GADA *sal-ḥu ša kib-su a-na* ¹¹1 *lim 8 me ŠUⁱⁱ ša* GADA.

³¹² Lines 16–17: 1^{en} GADA *sal-ḥi ša kib-su a-na 4 me 50 ŠUⁱⁱ 17[ša GADA]*.

³¹³ Line 13: 2 *lim 7 me ŠUⁱⁱ ša* GADA *a-na 9 GADA sal-ḥu ša kib-su*.

³¹⁴ Line 23: 2 *lim ŠUⁱⁱ a-na 18 sal-ḥi*. Cf. Nbn 163: 13 (18 GADA *sal-ḥi 2 lim ŠUⁱⁱ GADA*).

³¹⁵ However, from 2700 “hands” in Nbn 163, 18 *salḥu* were manufactured, i.e. one *salḥu* from 150 “hands.”

different quality seems to appear in the parallel text Nbn 163.³¹⁶ According to lines 5–7, the price of 2700 “hands” is only 8 shekels, i.e. 337.5 “hands” of linen for one shekel of silver, less than half the price in comparison with Nbn 164: 7–8 – which, because of the parallelism of the texts and their contemporaneity, seems improbable. We can resolve the question by emending PAP 8 GÍN in Nbn 163: 5 to 18! GÍN. Only by adding 32 shekels of silver (line 1) to 18! shekels of silver (line 5) can we reach the 50 shekels of silver in line 9, and by dividing 2700 “hands” by 18 shekels of silver we obtain 150 “hands” for one shekels of silver, just as in Nbn 164: 7–8. However, from 2700 “hands” in Nbn 163: 6–7 18 *salḫu* were manufactured, while in Nbn 164: 13 from the same amount of “hands” only 9 *salḫu* were made. The difference cannot result from the use of a different quality of linen because both texts mention the use of “thick” (*kabbaru*) linen. More likely there is a different measure for the *salḫu*. In BM 82581: 1 the “large” *salḫu* (*sal-ḫu* GAL) is mentioned and we can expect that also “small” *salḫu* existed. Another possibility is that because the most important gods received two *salḫus* each, in Nbn 163, mentioning 18 *salḫus*, each item was counted separately, while in Nbn 164 9 *salḫu* means 9 sets, each of two parts.

The question of the unit called *qātu* should be discussed here. The dictionaries avoid any attempt to define its meaning.³¹⁷ Only Pinches in the commentary to Peek, no. 2, suggests that it “must here mean something like ‘skeins’ or ‘hanks’ of the unmanufactured material.”³¹⁸ CAD K 473b is ambiguous: “thread or unspun flax”, but in the translation of some texts the meaning “bundles (of unspun) flax” is proposed. Delauney gives yet another suggestion in his translation of Mold II 13, i.e. “empans”, i.e. similarly to the proposal of Pinches. CAD’s translation suggests that the term was used to describe bundles of flax before removing harles, while in Pinches proposal the *qātu* describes not flax but linen harles removed, prior to further processes of preparation for production. In Nbn 164: 21–22, where 4 *ma-na* 17 GÍN *ṭu-ma-na a-na** 2 *lim ŠU*ⁱⁱ are mentioned, we can see that what is meant in this case is linen after the process of removing harles, i.e. only the meaning “skeins” or “hanks” is acceptable. One *qātu* weighed ca. 1.5 shekels, i.e. ca. 13 grams. According to ll. 12–13 of the same text, 1800 *qātus* weighed 1 talent 7 minas, i.e. a little below 1.5 shekels for one *qātu*. Obviously also here the linen (not flax) is meant, and the

³¹⁶ The text comprises the report concerning the linen given to “Šula and his weavers”, i.e. the same person mentioned in Nbn 164, both texts written on 21st Ulūlu fourth year of Nabonidus. While Nbn 164 comprises the settlement of accounts for the period from the first year (probably from the month Ulūlu, which is however not stated) till the month of Ulūlu, the fourth year of Nabonidus, plus remnants from unknown periods, Nbn 163 concerns only the period from the month of Ayaru Nbn 4 until the month of Ayaru Nbn 5, plus remnants for the period from the first year until the third year of Nabonidus.

³¹⁷ CAD Q 197b: “(a unit of a measure)”; CDA 287 “(unit of measurement).”

³¹⁸ PEEK, p. 4.

translation “bundle” should be discarded. Taking into account the writing ŠUⁱⁱ, the connection with hands is unavoidable. The small weight of one “hand” might mean the skein which is enclosed within two hands, or the skein produced from one bundle of flax.

Knowing the weight of one *qātu* as ca. 1.5 shekels, we can try to calculate the weight of garment mentioned in texts:

- one *kīpu* = $375 \text{ qātus} \times 1.5 \text{ shekels} = 565.5 \text{ shekels}$, i.e. 9 minas 25.5 shekels (Peek, no. 2)
- 1 *salḫu ša kībsu* = $180 \text{ qātus} \times 1.5 \text{ shekels} = 270 \text{ shekels}$, i.e. 4 minas 30 shekels (Nbn 164: 10–11)
- 1 *salḫu ša kībsu* = $450 \text{ qātus} \times 1.5 \text{ shekels} = 675 \text{ shekels}$, i.e. 11 minas 15 shekels (Nbn 164: 16)
- 1 *salḫu (ša kībsu ?)* = $300 \text{ qātus} \times 1.5 \text{ shekels} = \text{ca. } 450 \text{ shekels}$, i.e. 7 minas 30 shekels (Nbn 164: 12–13)³¹⁹
- 1 *salḫu* = $\text{ca. } 111 \text{ qātus} \times 1.5 \text{ shekels} = \text{ca. } 166.5 \text{ shekels}$, i.e. 2 minas 46.5 shekels (Nbn 163: 13 and Nbn 164: 23)
- 1 *salḫu* = $150 \text{ qātus} \times 1.5 \text{ shekels} = 225 \text{ shekels}$, i.e. 3 minas 45 shekels.

The calculated weight is in accordance with the weight of garments known from other texts discussed in this book.

The place of *salḫu* in the *miḫṣu tenû* lists and many data from individual texts suggest that the items were manufactured by the temple weaver; however, exceptionally it might be delivered from outside or bought. Such a possibility is suggested by CT 55, 823, according to which the merchant (*rab tamkari*) delivered one *salḫu* for Šamaš. The fragmentary text BM 84300 (time of Nabonidus) suggests that the *tamkaru* was engaged in buying the (red) and blue-purple wool.

2.2. The *ḫullānu*

This item belonged to the apparel of the gods Šamaš and Bunene; however, it is absent among the garments of the god Adad. It never occurs in the catalogues of garments of the goddesses, the only exception being Anunī-tu.³²⁰ In Sippar and also in Uruk, for each deity only one *ḫullānu* was issued.³²¹ However, an important difference between Sippar and Uruk has to

³¹⁹ Dividing 1 talent 7 minas by 9 *salḫus* we reach ca. 446 shekels for one *salḫu*, i.e. ca. 7 minas 26 shekels.

³²⁰ In Nbn 78: 8 the *ḫullānu* of Bunene and not that of Gula is in fact mentioned (contra CAD IJ 229b).

³²¹ The *ḫullānu* in Uruk is mentioned only in PTS 2094, col. I, obv. 5 and NBC 4750: 4 (for Ištar-ša-Uruk), see BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 153; PTS 2094, col. II, rev. 2 (2 for Bēlēte, i.e. one for each of two Ladies; id., p. 180); PTS 2094, col. I, obv. 14 (for Nanaya; id., p. 202); PTS 2094, col. II, obv. 4 (for Bēltu-ša-Rēš; id., p. 220); PTS 2094, col. II, obv. 12 (for Ušur-amāssu; id., p. 244); PTS 2094, col. II, obv. 19 (for

be stressed: in Sippar *hullānu* belonged mostly to the attire of the gods (and only one goddess, i.e. Anunītu), while in Uruk the situation is quite the reverse, i.e. the item belonged to the attire of all the most important goddesses and only one god (^dIGI.DU).

The item, made of thick linen (*šapū*)³²² with representations of the *Sibit-ti* (“The seven gods”), might have belonged to the garment of the *ērib bī-ti*.³²³

Nbn 115: 5 mentions 8 *hullānu petū* of Šamaš, “open *hullānus*”, which seems to suggest that the opposite (“closed”) item existed, too. Presumably this “open *hullānu*” was used for other purposes, not necessarily as a piece of apparel. That this was indeed the case can be seen in Nbn 660 where the *hullānu* was used as a coverlet for the bed of Šamaš, although this was not its basic role. Such an open *hullānu* is probably mentioned in ABL 1257, according to which a slave girl is to put it around her neck.³²⁴ During the Middle-Babylonian period a ^{tūg}*hullān ahi*, “*hullānu* with sleeves” was known.³²⁵ Taking this information into consideration, the entries in various dictionaries offer the following translations: “a blanket or wrap of linen or wool” (CAD H 229 and Matsushima 1994, p. 179, n. 9), “Decke” (AHw 354a), “Schlüpfer” (Ungnad, NRV Glossar 60) or “Umhang” (Waetzold 1980–1983a, p. 22b), “blanket, wrap” (Beaulieu, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 15); “cloak, wrap” (SAA 16, p. 183).

In the Sippar texts the information about the *hullānu* is of a very stereotyped nature because the item is mentioned in the *miḥṣu tenū* lists or similar ones, e.g. lists of garments for the *tabū* ceremony. There is not a single piece of information about the manufacturing processes or the quantity of material used; nevertheless, because it is typically preceded by the determinative GADA, we can assume that *hullānu* of Šamaš and Bunene were made of linen, probably in a natural, i.e. white colour. The only exception was the *hullānu* of Anunītu because the word is never preceded by a determinative GADA but by TŪG, which usually indicates wool. This finds support in several texts which mention the red wool (SĪG. HĒ.MĒ.DA) used for the *hullānu* of Anunītu.³²⁶

The function of the *hullānu* can be determined by the comparison of its place with other clothing in the *miḥṣu tenū* lists:

Urkayītu; id., p. 258); PTS 2094, col. II, rev. 33 (for Gula; id., p. 277); PTS 2094, col. II, rev. 38 (for ^dIGI.DU; id., p. 284).

³²² Concerning such a meaning of the word, see now BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 387 (for earlier different proposals see CAD Š I 490 and BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 308, n. 280).

³²³ UVB 15, 40, rev. 13’.

³²⁴ See new edition of the text LUUKKO and VAN BUYLAERE, SAA XVI, no. 17c.

³²⁵ CAD H 229 b, under (a).

³²⁶ BM 54258: 11; BM 59013, rev. 4’; BM 59270: [9’]; BM 73159: 10’; BM 83803: ‘9’; Cyr 232: 24.

Aya	<i>salḫu</i>	<i>naḥlaptu</i>		
<i>mārāt Ebabbar</i>	<i>salḫu</i>	<i>naḥlaptu</i>		
<i>Šarrat Sippar</i>	<i>salḫu</i>	<i>naḥlaptu</i>		
Anunītu	<i>salḫu</i>	<i>naḥlaptu</i>	<i>ḫullānu</i>	<i>guḫalṣu</i>
Gula	<i>salḫu</i>	<i>naḥlaptu</i>		
Šala	<i>salḫu</i>	<i>naḥlaptu</i>		
Šamaš	<i>salḫu</i>		<i>ḫullānu</i>	<i>guḫalṣu</i>
Bunene	<i>salḫu</i>		<i>ḫullānu</i>	<i>guḫalṣu</i>
Adad	<i>salḫu</i>			<i>guḫalṣu</i>

The list shows quite clearly that *ḫullānu* in the garments of gods corresponds to *naḥlaptu* in the clothing of goddesses. One may state, thus, that the two items had a similar function, despite possible differences in fashion (style) and colours. An exception is the garments of the goddess Anunītu, whose set of clothing included *ḫullānu* as well as *naḥlaptu*, as well as the *guḫaššu*, which also belonged exclusively to the clothing of gods. The presence of these three elements in the vestment of Anunītu could have resulted from peculiarities in her cultic functions. Because apparently the *ḫullānu*, just like the *naḥlaptu*, were put over the *salḫu*, the translation “coverlet” or “shirt” seems most suitable for both of them. The statue of Anunītu could have been dressed with *ḫullānu* or *naḥlaptu*, depending presumably on whether her masculine (war-like) features or civil (female) features were to be emphasised.³²⁷ Similarly, the lack of the *ḫullānu* in the clothing of Adad might have been connected with his role as a god of storm. Again, an important difference between Sippar and Uruk has to be stressed. PTS 2094, published by Beaulieu, *The Pantheon of Uruk* (see p. 415) shows that in Uruk not only the *naḥlaptu* but also the *ḫullānu* belonged to the set of garments of all the goddesses. Similarly the gods also were dressed not only in the *ḫullānu* but also in the *naḥlaptu*.

2.3. The *guḫaššu* (*guḫalṣu*) and *guḫalṣētu*

The *guḫalṣu* (*guḫaššu*) appears in the texts from Sippar at least a couple of hundred times but mostly in the same stereotyped context. In the *miḫṣu tenū* lists the *guḫalṣu* typically occupies the third position, following *salḫu* and *ḫullānu*. The same word is also known from two Uruk texts, TCL 12, 109: 8 and YOS 7, 183: 7, 13; in the latter it is destined for the two most

³²⁷ However, according to WAETZOLDT 1980–1983a, p. 22, the *ḫullānu* “kann möglicherweise nach HSS 13, 225: 7ff. zusammen mit *naḥlaptu* getragen werden,” i.e. as in Uruk but not in Sippar.

important goddesses, i.e. Bēlit Uruk and Nanaya, respectively.³²⁸ In Sippar the *guḫalšu* appears usually in the *miḫšu tenû* lists, where the item is counted and its weight is never noted. I know only one *dullu pešû u dullu tabarru* text, BM 61762, mentioning one white *guḫalšu* and, a few lines below, most probably the red one,³²⁹ each weighing 50 shekels.³³⁰ We lack any data about the *guḫalšu* of other goddesses, which suggests that in Sippar the item was reserved for the gods and the goddess Anunītu.

It should be noted that in a few texts from Sippar except for the *guḫalšu* it appears the form with the plural marker *meš*, and exceptionally the form *gu-ḫal-ši-tu*, while in Uruk the latter form is used quite regularly. Two arguments exclude recognising in *guḫalšu*^{meš} and in *guḫalšēti* merely the plural forms of *guḫalšu*. Firstly, in TCL 12, 109: 8–10 one *guḫalšu* is followed by *guḫalšētu*, which excludes the possibility of treating both words as denoting the same object or material.³³¹ Secondly, in all the texts where the *guḫalšu*^{meš} or *guḫalšētu* is mentioned, it is always weighed, not counted.³³² This means that there was a sharp difference between both words: the *guḫalšu* denoted the final product, while the *guḫalšētu* the material, probably a yarn or thread used for the manufacturing of the first one.³³³ This opinion is supported by texts from Uruk, for example YOS 7, 183, where the *guḫalšu* belongs to the attire of two goddesses (Bēlit-ša-Uruk and Nanaya), while the *guḫalšētu* in this and other texts appears at the very end of the text, is weighed and is not connected with a particular goddess's name; see YOS 17, 301: 17–18, where it is preceded by thread (*ṭīmu*); YOS 19, 270: 13 (preceded and followed by *ṭīmu*); YOS 19, 271: 17–18 (preceded and followed by *ṭīmu*). In these texts *guḫalšēti* describes – just like *ṭīmu* – a specific type of yarn or thread which was not utilised in the process of manufacturing the garments mentioned in the texts. However, because in the afore-mentioned texts *guḫalšētu* is mentioned without any reference to *guḫalšu*, the only possibility is that *guḫalšētu* was used there to suture a part of a different item mentioned in the particular text, and not for manufacturing the *guḫalšu*. This means that *guḫalšētu* thread was used both for manufacturing the *guḫalšu*, and also as an additional material used in manufacturing different items of the divine attire.

³²⁸ Its colour is described as *ša MUD*, i.e. a dark red. Concerning the *guḫalšu*, see also the Middle-Babylonian text TCL 9, 50: 9.

³²⁹ White and red *guḫalšu* appears in badly broken BM 73723: 6, 8. By comparison with BM 61762, where also first the white (l. 8) and then the red *guḫalšu* (l. 11) are mentioned, it seems that also BM 73723 concerns the garments for the goddess Anunītu.

³³⁰ The figure in l. 8 is badly preserved, but the reading ^{r5/61} seems probable.

³³¹ ⁸1 *gu-ḫal-ša* ⁹1 *ma-na* ^{1/3} 2 *GIN gu-ḫal-ša-a-[ta]* ¹⁰ *ša* SĠG.ZA.GIN.KUR.RA.

³³² Some doubt might be caused by OIP 122, 71: 2 where *guḫalšātu* is preceded by the determinative; this is translated correctly by Weisberg as “braids of carded wool” (^{lug}*gú-ḫal-ša-ta* ³*šu-up-pa-a-ta*).

³³³ BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, recognizes the *guḫalšu* (see. p. 15), but *guḫalšētu* is not noted in his list of materials and dyes (see p. 16).

Ner 65, where the weaver received the linen for manufacturing the *guḫalšētu*,³³⁴ and other texts from Sippar and Uruk, where both *guḫalšu* and *guḫalšētu* are quite often preceded with GADA, demonstrate that they were made of linen.³³⁵ The only exception is the *dullu pešû* list BM 61762, in which all items were produced of wool. Because also *īmu* was, at least sometimes, made of linen (i.e. YOS 6, 113), and the colour of both of them was also sometimes the same,³³⁶ the difference between them was owed most probably to the techniques used.

The *guḫalšu* in Sippar – except for in BM 61762 – is always destined for the particular gods (Šamaš, Bunene and Adad) and for only one goddess, Anunītu.³³⁷ This means that in this respect the tradition in Sippar was different from the tradition in Uruk where the *guḫalšu* is first of all part of the apparel of the goddesses: Bēlit Uruk, Nanaya (i.e. YOS 7, 183)³³⁸, but also at least of one god, ^dIGI.DU (GC 2, 105).³³⁹ However, the contrast between the two cities is probably less important than one might think, since at both places the highest deities are concerned.

Administrative texts do not offer a better chance to determine the function of *guḫaššu*. Dictionaries point to the fact that *guḫalšu* could have been not only a fabric but also an item made of gold or bronze. In the case of jewellery, it is suggested that the *guḫalšu* was “wire cable” “used as pieces of jewelry as well as to support heavy ornaments.” (CAD G 124b; cf. Beaulieu, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, pp. 218ff.: “suspension wire”). That is probably why it has been postulated that the *guḫalšu* made of fabric means “scarf, also made a kind of coloured thread or braid.” (CAD G 124a; similar AHW 296b: “Borte, Schärpe”, adapted by Salonen, NUVI 3, pp. 124, 146 and Matsushima, *ASJ* 16 (1994) 179, n. 9: “a kind of scarf” and Beaulieu, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 15 (“scarf, braids”). From the fact that

³³⁴ 1 *ma-na* 3 GÍN GADA ²*a-na gu-ḫal-ša-tu* ³*ša* ^dUTU ^dA-a ^dBu-ne-ne (and maybe in l. 4: ^ru?) [^d]GAŠAN(?) UD.KIB.NUN.KI), “1 mina 43 shekels of linen for *guḫalšētu*-thread for Šamaš, Aya, Bunene and(?) Šarrat Sippar.”

³³⁵ The reading GADA *gu-ḫal-ša-[ta]* *ša* SÍG.ZA.GÍN.KUR.RA in YOS 7, 183: 31 and YOS 17, 301: 18; cf. also GADA *gu-ḫal-ša-ta* *ša* SÍG.ĤĒ.ME.DA, YOS 17, 301: 17 is important because thanks to it we know that SÍG.ZA.GÍN.KUR.RA or SÍG.ĤĒ.ME.DA does not mean here (nor probably in many other texts) “*takiltu* wool” or “*tabarru* wool”, but “*takiltu* colour” and “*tabarru* colour.” For this reason I cannot accept the translation of the cited passage in NUVI 3, 235 (p. 124): “2? Minen Borten aus Blaupurpurwolle” because the determinative GADA is ignored.

³³⁶ *īmu tabarru ša* LAGAB (YOS 7, 183: 30; YOS 17, 301: 16) and *guḫalšāta tabarru* (YOS 17, 301: 17; YOS 19, 271: 17). Cf. also *īmu takilti* (YOS 17, 301: 15; YOS 19, 271: 19) and *guḫalšāta takilti* (YOS 17, 301: 18; YOS 19, 271: 18).

³³⁷ BM 67964: 2–3. The mention of *guḫalšēti* of Šamaš, Aya, Bunene, and maybe Šarrat Sippar in Ner 65 cannot be treated as proof of the manufacturing of *guḫalšu* for Aya and Šarrat Sippar, because *guḫašēti* thread could be used for different purposes, too. Cyr 7: 4 mentions *guḫaššu* of Šamaš, not of Aya (contra CAD G 124a).

³³⁸ Maybe also Bēltu-ša-Reš, but this is uncertain because the tablet is heavily broken in the appropriate place.

³³⁹ Not noted in Beaulieu’s work, see *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 15.

guḥalšu was counted, it is clear that it was recognised as a separate item which served – just like *guḥalšu* of jewellery – to stabilise other parts of the outfit in their proper position. Because the *guḥalšu* appears when the *ḥullānu* is present the strict connection between both elements seems evident.

2.4. The *naḥlaptu*

The name of this garment was written ideographically TÚG.GÚ.UD. DU.(A) or syllabically *na-aḥ-la-ap-tu*₄, *na-aḥ-lap-tu*₄, or *na-ḥal-lap-tu*₄. Whereas the *salḫu* was the basic element of vestment of gods and goddesses worshipped in Sippar, the *naḥlaptu* was limited to the vestments of the goddesses. Three colours of the *naḥlaptu* are known: red (*tabarru* or *nabāsu*),³⁴⁰ multicoloured (*birmu*), and blue-purple (*takiltu*).

TABLE 26: The *naḥlaptu* in the texts from Sippar

Gods	<i>naḥlaptu tabarru</i>	<i>naḥlaptu takiltu</i>	<i>naḥlaptu birmu</i>	Total
Aya	4		1	5
Šarrat Sippar	3	1	1	5 ³⁴¹
Anunītu	3			3
<i>mārāt Eabbar</i>	6			6 (each 3)
Šala	1			1
Gula	1			1

³⁴⁰ *naḥlaptu tabarru* of Aya, *mārāt Eabbar* and Šarrat Sippar is known only from BM 61182: 9, 12, <17> and *naḥlaptu tabarru* of Šarrat Sippar from BM 61504:10, where it replaces *naḥlaptu nabāsu*, a perfect confirmation of the synonymy of *tabarru* and *nabāsu*.

³⁴¹ BM 54227, rev. 10; BM 61182: 17–19; BM 61517: 22; BM 61785, rev. 3'–5'; BM 64651: 9–10; BM 65484: 16–17; BM 73072: 8'–10'; BM 73134: 11–13. Five *naḥlaptus* in BM 54258: 10; BM 68348+: 9; Cyr 232: 23 means probably the same. i.e. 3 *naḥlaptu tabarru* + 1 *naḥlaptu takiltu* + 1 *naḥlaptu birmu*. In BM 67633+: 13 there are only three *naḥlaptus*, four in BM 71925: 12–13 (three *tabarru* and one *birmu*) and four in BM 59491: 9'–10' (but three *tabarru* and one *takiltu*).

TABLE 27: The *naḥlaptu* in the texts from Uruk³⁴²

Gods	<i>naḥlaptu tabar-ru</i>	<i>naḥlaptu takiltu</i>	Total
Ištar-ša-Uruk	2	2	4
Nanaya	9	2	11 ³⁴³
Bēltu-ša-Rēš	1	0	1
Ušur-amāssu	1	1	1
Urkayītu	1	1	2
Bēlēte	2	0	2 (one for each)
Gula	1	1	2
^d IGI.DU	1	0	1

As the above list shows the numbers of Aya's and Šarrat Sippar's *naḥlaptus* were the same, just like the respective numbers for Anunītu and the "Daughters of Ebabbar," i.e. each had three *naḥlaptus*. One should observe, however, that *naḥlaptu* in blue-purple colour is issued only for the goddess of Šarrat Sippar. In the light of the rich evidence, especially the source material referring to the goddess Aya, this fact should not be treated as mere coincidence; the blue-purple *naḥlaptu* was the item which distinguished Šarrat Sippar from all the remaining goddesses. Because also a multicoloured *naḥlaptu* belonged to Aya and Šarat Sippar vestments, it seems probable that during certain celebrations, when only Šarrat Sippar's statue was wrapped with *naḥlaptu takiltu*, she was the one who attracted the most attention. We can imagine that during some celebrations³⁴⁴ the first position was taken by Šarrat Sippar "Queen of Sippar", not Aya, the consort of Šamaš.

Only very few texts, mostly broken ones, give the weight of *naḥlaptu*.³⁴⁵ According to CT 4, 38a: 5 *naḥlaptu* of the goddess Aya weighed 4 minas,

³⁴² The table is based on the data from one text only, i.e. PTS 2094 published by BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, see the appropriate page where the garments of a particular goddess or god are discussed. The *naḥlaptus* for Lady-of-Uruk are probably mentioned also in NBC 4750 (BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 153), where 2 SÍG.HE.MÉ.DA 2 SÍG.ZA.GÍN.KUR.RA (ll. 6–7) could be an abbreviated form of 2 <TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU> SÍG.HE.MÉ.DA 2 <TÚG.GÚ.UD.DU> SÍG.ZA.GÍN.KUR.RA.

³⁴³ Blue-purple wool for *naḥlaptu* of Nanaya is also mentioned in YOS 17, 305: 1–2; PTS 3471: 3 and red in PTS 2881: 2 (the last two are cited by BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 202).

³⁴⁴ Only in four texts is the month in which the lists were made preserved. Accordingly, *naḥlaptu takiltu* was included in the set of garments for the month of Tašrītu (BM 64651), Araḥsamna (BM 61182 and BM 61504) and in Addaru (Cyr 7), i.e. in both cycles. That is why I think we should connect the use of blue-purple *naḥlaptu* not with a specific festival but with a specific rite within this festival.

³⁴⁵ BM 67857, rev. 3; BM 67458: 4 and BM 79793+, rev. I 11' and 15'.

according to BM 79793, rev. I 11' 4 minas 20 shekels, while according to Cam 363 5 minas 5 shekels.³⁴⁶ However, we do not know whether the weight of one or all five *naḥlaptus* is meant.

According to BM 79793, rev. I 16' the *kusītu* (one?) and four *naḥlaptus* of the *mārāt Ebabbar* weighed '1 *ma-na* 4 GIN', while according to VS 6, 26: 20–21 the weight of two *kusītus* and two *naḥlaptus* was 1 *ma-na* [x] shekels, but in CT 4, 38a: 9–10 the *kusītu* and two *naḥlaptus* weighed only 50 shekels, which cannot be the total weight of all these garments.³⁴⁷

Data concerning other goddesses are even less certain. According to BM 51422, rev. 10' two *kusītus* and two *naḥlaptus* of [*Gu*(?)]-*la* weighed only 1 mina 4 shekels, while according to BM 65979, rev' 4' two *paršigus* and *naḥlaptus* of Š[*a-l*]*a* weighed 59 shekels. The passages are broken to such an extent that they allow no conclusion as to the weight of the *naḥlaptu* of an individual goddess. But even such insufficient data show that the weight in question depended on the status of the deity in the pantheon.

The *naḥlaptu* appears also in the *miḥṣu tenû* lists but, although most of the garments listed there were made of linen, *naḥlaptu* was made of wool since the word is followed by SÍG.ĤÉ.ME.DA or SÍG.ZA.GÌN.KUR.RA. This is confirmed in Cam 137 where 10 shekels of *takiltu* wool were delivered for the *naḥlaptu* of Šarrat Sippar.³⁴⁸ A doubt arises in the case of Gula because only one text clearly states that her *naḥlaptu* was made of red wool (Cyr 7: 15).

The data from Uruk suggest that Ištar-ša-Uruk and Nanaya probably received the same quantity of *naḥlaptu*³⁴⁹ made of red and blue-purple.³⁵⁰ Bēlēte, who receive only one *naḥlaptu* each, follow Urkayītu but precede Gula, which suggests that their position in the pantheon of Uruk was higher than that of Gula and ^dIGI.DU.

The function of the *naḥlaptu* has not been precisely defined as yet. The translation "wrap, outer garment" (CAD N I 138), "Gewand, Mantel" (AHw 715a) is too general. Matsushima suggested that it could be "a kind of shawl or the like, just to cover the shoulder, or a pure auxiliary but indispensable article in order to make the statue of the goddess to be dressed up with *kusītu*?" (ASJ 17 (1995) 248). One must take three factors into

³⁴⁶ Maybe her *naḥlaptu* weighting 5 minas was mentioned in broken Cyr 190: 13–14. In BM 67458: 4', where *naḥlaptu* weighing 4 minas 10 shekels is mentioned, the name of the goddess is not preserved.

³⁴⁷ Most probably one colour wool used for their manufacture was meant there.

³⁴⁸ In NUVI 3, 138 for 1/3 in l. 1 read SÍG; delete also *šá* after *a-na* in l. 2. BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 30 suggested reading in l. 5 the name of Rēhētu, but the translation of Salonen as *elat maḥritu u riḥītu*, "ausser einem früheren und einem übrigen" seems acceptable, though instead of "Gewand" the delivery of wool was probably meant.

³⁴⁹ 9 blue-purple *naḥlaptus* for Nanaya might be accidental, because it is unlikely that she received more items than Bēltu-ša-Uruk.

³⁵⁰ One *naḥlaptu* for Bēltu-ša-Rēš might be accidental.

consideration: (a) that *naḥlaptu* were put over *salḥu*; (b) that in Sippar they are part of the apparel of goddesses only; (c) that in the clothing of gods the *ḥullānu* corresponds to the *naḥlaptu*. The latter factor suggests that both items played a similar role: a kind of a decorative shirt or blouse. In the case of male deities, *ḥullānu* could indeed have been the main outer garment on which some smaller items were put. The *naḥlaptu*, too, could have been an outer garment of the goddesses but during certain ceremonies a richly decorated *kusītu* was put on top of it.

2.5. The *kusītu*

The name of this garment was written syllabically (*ku-si-tu₄*) or ideographically (TÚG.BAR.DUL/DUL₅/DUL₈).³⁵¹

The proposed translations of *kusītu* are not precise enough: “Gewand” (AHw 514b), “an elaborate garment” (CAD K 585), “robe” (CDA 170 and Dietrich, SAA 17, p. 181, or “gown” in Dietrich’s translation of no. 122: 7), “a garment” (Beaulieu, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 15 passim). Oppenheim, *JNES* 8 (1949) offered the translation “bound mantle,” stressing that *kusītu* was covered with a few hundred decorative items in the shape of small stars and rosettes (*ajāru* and *tenšu*). Undoubtedly this supports the interpretation of *kusītu* as “an outer garment.”

It has long been established that *kusītu* belonged to the vestments of goddesses, however, the opinion of Matsushima that the item was part of the vestment of all major goddesses worshipped in Sippar requires correction. According to the evidence it did not belong to the attire of the goddess Anūnītu. Since *kusītu* was an outer garment, it must have been diversified in order to help identify goddesses by means of different colours and other additional elements. According to two texts (BM 65484: 17¹ and VS 6, 23: 2) the *kusītu* of Šarrat Sippar was made of blue-purple wool, just like her *naḥlaptu*. Cam 229 may suggest that Šarrat Sippar also had a multicoloured *kusītu*,³⁵² but when we compare Cam 229 and Dar 322, we can see that the broken text was incorrectly read.³⁵³ Both texts indicate that the *kusītu* of Šarrat Sippar had *birmu*, perhaps a trimming made of multicoloured wool. From BM 82568 we know that the blue-purple *adilānu*, also made of wool, was attached to her *kusītu*. Accordingly, at the beginning of the month of Nisannu Nabû-ittannu, *išpar birme*, received 4⁷/₈ shekels of

³⁵¹ In two texts, i.e. BM 54227: 11’ and in BM 67633+: 21’ instead of *kusītu* the scribe probably wrote by mistake *lubāru* (however, both texts are in these places badly preserved).

³⁵² 6¹/₃ *ma-na* K1.LAL 1^{ku-si-tu₄} [EN] 2^{bir-mu} šá 4^{GAŠAN} Sip-par^{ki}, “6 minas 20 shekels, the weight of the *kusītu* of Šarrat Sippar, including (her) *birmu*.”

³⁵³ 6¹/₂ *ma-na* S[IG*.J1.A] 2^{K1.LAL} ku-si-tu₄ šá 4^{GAŠAN} Sip-[par^{ki}] 3^{EN} bi-ir-ma, “6.5 minas of wool, the weight of the *kusītu* of Šarrat Sippar, including (her) *birmu*.”

silver for the purchase of the *takiltu* wool “for *adilānu* of the *kusītu* of Šarrat Sippar for the month Ayaru.”

The *kusītus* of Aya and the “Daughters of Ebabbar” were always made of red (*tabarru* or *nabasu*) wool, but according to BM 101301 15 shekels of *takiltu* wool were used for the manufacture of the *kusītu* for Aya. From Nbn 751: 1–3 we know that an *adilānu* made of half a shekel of *takiltu* wool was destined for the *kusītu* of Aya.

Data concerning the weight of an individual *kusītu* is scarce. Three texts already quoted by Matsushima and one so far unpublished suggest that the weight of Aya’s *kusītu* varied to a large degree: 6.5 minas in BM 79793+, rev. II 9³⁵⁴; 8 minas, in CT 4, 38a: 4; 9 minas 25 shekels (coll.) in Cyr 191: 7, and 11 minas in CT 44, 73: 20.

The *kusītu* of Šarrat Sippar, known from two texts was much lighter: 6¹/₃ or 6¹/₂ *adi birmu* (Cam 229 and Dar 322). The available data suggest that in Sippar the meaning “an outer garment, or robe for the goddesses” describe exactly its function.

We can compare the data given above with the data concerning the *kusītus* from Uruk:

- Ištar-ša-Uruk – in PTS 3471 9 minas 35 shekels of wool was used for manufacturing the *kusītu* of Ištar-ša-Uruk, the *naḥlaptu* of Nanaya and their *lubār kūlulus* (Beaulieu, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 154, repeated on p. 202).
- Nanaya, see above and PTS 2094, col. I obv. 15 (1 *kusītu*).
- Gula – YBC 9431: 3–4 mentioning the *adilānu* for the *kusītu* of Ištar-ša-Uruk and Gula (see Beaulieu, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 155)
- Ahlamayītu – mentioned only in IBK 8, 165: 1 (weight is not given).
- Antu – mentioned in YOS 3, 62: 8 (see new edition in Beaulieu, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 310).

That the *kusītu* garments were precious can be concluded from the fact that they were transported from one centre to another, as recorded in numerous texts from Uruk (Matsushima 1995c).

2.6. The *nēbeḫu* (TÚG.ÍB.LÁ)

This item appears in almost all the *miḫṣu tenû* lists and sometimes also in the early *dullu peṣû* lists, as well as in receipts of deliveries by individual weavers. In the light of these texts it belonged to the vestments of three gods: Šamaš, Bunene, and Adad, but only to one goddess, Anunītu,³⁵⁵

³⁵⁴ Cf. also rev. I 9’: [x] mina(s) 20 shekels, the weight of the *kusītu* of Aya.

³⁵⁵ BM 59013+, rev. 4’; BM 65146: 13. In BM 67633+: 19–21, where the name of the deity is broken, we have for sure a list of garments of the goddess herself, *nēbeḫu* included. In the badly broken BM 61601, rev. 8’–9’ we can also recognize a fragment of the list of Anunītu’s garments for the simple reason that the garments of the other god-

which means that it is another “masculine” element of her clothing. On the other hand, we do not know a single text which would suggest that a *nēbehu* was included in the equipment of the goddesses Aya, Šala, and Gula.³⁵⁶

We do not have precise information about the weight of the *nēbehu*. Two texts, BM 79793+, rev. I 8' and CT 4, 38a: 3, and probably also BM 62543: 9 (though the name of the god in this text is broken) establish the weight of the *nēbehu* of Šamaš as 3 minas. Thus, 6 minas of wool for the *nēbehu* of Šamaš in BM 66698 possibly means the quantity of wool for two *nēbehus*. BM 62543 states that red wool (*tabarru*) was used to manufacture it. BM 79352 mentions 3 minas and 50 shekels of red wool for *nēbehu* of Šamaš and Bunene, which probably means 3 minas for *nēbehu* of Šamaš and 50 shekels for *nēbehu* of Bunene. However, in CT 4, 38a: 12 the *nēbehu* of Bunene weighed only 30 shekels. According to Nbn 547: 3–5, 22 minas of wool were destined for the *nēbehu* of Šamaš and the *kusītu* of Aya. Since the weight of Aya's *kusītu* is different on various occasions, we cannot say how much of the wool in question was destined for the *nēbehu* of Šamaš.

In other texts much lower quantities are mentioned:

- 1 mina and 40 shekels (colour not mentioned) for the *nēbehu* of a god whose name is broken (BM 67857, rev. 4')
- 1 mina of blue-purple wool for the *nēbehu* of Šamaš (BM 62980)³⁵⁷
- 40 shekels of blue-purple wool for the *nēbehu* of Šamaš and Bunene (BM 66823)
- 37 shekels of blue-purple wool for the *nēbehu* of [Šamaš] and Bunene (Cyr 104)
- 24 shekels of blue-purple wool for the *nēbehu* of Bunene (BM 51422: 7–9)³⁵⁸
- [20] shekels of blue-purple wool for the *nēbehu* of Šamaš and Bunene (Nbn 818).³⁵⁹

desses were listed above. Perhaps the *nēbehu* of Anunītu is listed also in BM 101060, rev. 9'. It is interesting to note that in Uruk the *nēbehu* is attested as an item of Ištar's attire, see BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 15.

³⁵⁶ In CAD N II 144, based on Cyr 289: 8, it was suggested that the *nēbehu* was a part of the vestment of Aya, however, the comparison of the texts with a huge number of other *dullu pešū* lists makes it certain that in l. 8 the scribe wrote mistakenly TÚG.ÍB.LÁ.MEŠ šá ^dA-a instead of 10 TÚG.NÍG.ÍB.LÁ.MEŠ šá ^dA-a, and the same mistake is repeated in l. 7 (where the *hušannus* of Šamaš are expected), and again in l. 11 (where the *hušannus* of Adad and Šala are expected). Compare two other texts cited in CAD N II 144, i.e. in Cam 312: 10 there is 10 TÚG.NÍG.ÍB.LÁ.MEŠ šá ^dA-a and in Cyr 190: 4 TÚG.NÍG.ÍB.LÁ.MEŠ šá ^dA-nu-ni-tu₄.

³⁵⁷ Described as SÍG.ZA.GÍN.KUR.RA [a-na] qu-ru-ub-tu₄.

³⁵⁸ The text concerns the manufacturing of the *nēbehu* (TÚG.ÍB.LÁ.MEŠ), the *lubār mēhu* and the *lubār kulūlu*.

³⁵⁹ The numeral is broken but because of the small gap the most probable reconstruction is [1/2] ma-na. Note that the text is parallel to Cyr 104.

It seems to me that the above-mentioned texts refer not to the weight of the complete *nēbeḫu* but to the weight of blue-purple wool alone.

In Uruk there is only one mention of the *nēbeḫu* of Ištar (^d15), decorated with 15 golden lions.³⁶⁰

Scholars are quite unanimous as far as *nēbeḫu* goes: “Gürtel, Binde” (AHw 773b); “(a belt or sash)” and in translation “girdle” (CAD N II 143 and CDA 248); “Gürtel” (Waetzoldt 1980–1983a, p. 29 b); “belt or sash” (Matsushima, *ASJ* 16, p. 179, n. 9); “fascia” (Giovinazzo 1981, pp. 529f.); “belt” (Beaulieu, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 15). According to the commentary CAD N II 144b, “no obvious difference can be established between the piece of apparel called *nēbeḫu* and that called *ḫuṣannu*, which occur in the same text only in ZA 4, 137, Nbp 4.” This opinion results from the fact that at that time the number of texts known was limited; in fact, *nēbeḫu* and *ḫuṣannu* appear in the same on numerous occasions. Moreover, the difference between the two items is clear: the *ḫuṣannu* is part of the apparel of both gods and goddesses, whereas the *nēbeḫu* belongs only to gods and the goddess Anunītu. Each deity has several *ḫuṣannus* but only one *nēbeḫu*.³⁶¹ Finally, it seems that the *ḫuṣannu* and the *nēbeḫu* largely differ in their weight. Thus, one may conclude that the sizes and functions of the *ḫuṣannu* and the *nēbeḫu* in the apparel of gods must have been basically different. The texts cited above suggest that the complete *nēbeḫu* of Šamaš weighed 3 minas, while his *ḫuṣannu* only weighed 10 shekels, i.e. the proportion is 18: 1. The translation *nēbeḫu* as “belt or sash” seems less probable. A piece of clothing of large size was used also in a Late Babylonian ritual text where the “brazier is wrapped (*illabbiš*) with a *nēbeḫu*”³⁶², i.e. it was used to protect the body of the smith from burns. At least in this context one should think of a garment resembling an apron, and such a function of *nēbeḫu* in the apparel of the gods cannot be excluded. However, there are at least two texts in which the meaning “belt” seems to be unavoidable. According to the first one, UVB 15, 40 rev. 5, 7, 10, the *nēbeḫu* was used to wrap the hips.³⁶³ A similar meaning might be recognised in BM 50209+, where the *nēbeḫu* was used as a belt to which the bow of Šamaš was attached.³⁶⁴ It seems that when a binding was meant the verb *rakāsu* appeared, while in other situations when covering or clothing was meant the verb *labāsu* was used.³⁶⁵ Taking into account all available texts, two different types of *nēbeḫu* might be recognised: one much heavier and larger used as a type of cover, and the other much lighter and used as a

³⁶⁰ PTS 2927: 3, see BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 156.

³⁶¹ Only a few cases are known in which more than one *nēbeḫu* is meant.

³⁶² SBH, p. 144, no. VII 12, and duplicate BRM 4, 25: 46, 48. Cf. also also ÇAĞIRGAN and LAMBERT, *JCS* 43–45, p. 93 (BM 32206+: 8), where something or someone is clothed with the *nēbeḫu* (*nē-be-ḫu ú-lab-ba-su*).

³⁶³ *ina* ^{10g}*ni-bi-ḫu qablīšu rakis*.

³⁶⁴ *11 ni-bi-ḫu šá GIŠ.BAN šá dUTU*.

³⁶⁵ The third verb used in the context of garments is *ḫalāpu*, describing mostly covering.

belt. Probably such a belt belongs to the attire of the goddess Ištar and is decorated with large golden sequins in shape of lions, as mentioned in PTS 2927: 3.³⁶⁶

2.7. The *patinnu* (TÚG.MURUB₄.ÍB.LÁ)

In BM 91002, the document concerning the garments to be delivered for the *lubuštu* ceremony of Šamaš, 1^{en} TUG.MURUB₄.ÍB.LÁ *ta-bar-ra* for the month of Nisannu (and subsequently for the months Ayaru and Araḫsamna) and 1 TÚG.MURUB₄.ÍB.LÁ for the month of Ulūlu (and subsequently also for the months of Tašrītu and Addaru) is mentioned. The Akkadian equivalent of the ideogram was quite long unknown.³⁶⁷ Taking into account the second element MURUB₄ = *qablu*, Matsushima has suggested the translation “one *qablu* on the hip” (Matsushima 1992, p. 213 n. 15) or “*nēbeḫu* on the loins” (Matsushima 1994, pp. 185ff.). The reading ^{túg}*qabli* (MURÚ) *nēbeḫi* (ÍB.LÁ) “fascia *nēbeḫu* per i fianchi”, i.e. identical with that of Matsushima was presented by Giovinazzo (Giovinazzo 1981, pp. 544 and 555). Labat’s and Borger’s syllabaries omit this ideogram, because they include only those whose Akkadian readings are established or most probable.³⁶⁸

The chance of establishing the appropriate Akkadian reading of the ideogram is possible through the analysis of the *miḫṣu tenû* lists from the Ebabbar archives of Sippar. It is clear from these lists that besides Šamaš the TÚG.MURUB₄.ÍB.LÁ belonged also to the set of garments of Bunene and Adad, i.e. three male gods worshipped in Sippar. While the lists of garments of Šamaš is quite rich and differs depending on the month of the *lubuštu* ceremony, the list of garments of Bunene and Adad is in fact always the same. The garments of Bunene consist of the *salḫu*, the *ḫullānu*, the *guḫalṣu*, the *nēbeḫu* and the *patinnu* or the *salḫu*, the *ḫullānu*, the *guḫalṣu*, the *nēbeḫu* and the TÚG.MURUB₄.ÍB.LÁ. The garments of Adad comprise the *salḫu*, the *guḫalṣu*, the *nēbeḫu* and the *patinnu* or the *salḫu*, the *guḫalṣu*, the *nēbeḫu* and the TÚG.MURUB₄.ÍB.LÁ. It is clear that if *patinnu* is present, then TÚG.MURUB₄.ÍB.LÁ is absent, and vice versa. It should be noted that the texts always mention only one *patinnu* and the position of *patinnu* in the list is the same as TÚG.MURUB₄.ÍB.LÁ; similarly there is only one TÚG.MURUB₄.ÍB.LÁ. The conclusion is unavoidable: *patinnu* is the Akkadian equivalent of TÚG.MURUB₄.ÍB.LÁ.

In the *miḫṣu tenû* list of the garments for Adad, Bunene, and Šamaš from the time of Nabonidus only the syllabic writing was used, while in

³⁶⁶ Cited by BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 156.

³⁶⁷ The question of the Akkadian equivalent for the Sumerian ideogram was first discussed in ZAWADZKI 1997.

³⁶⁸ See now BORGER, AOAT 305, p. 360, no. 545.

those from the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses – with the exception of one (BM 61504: 3)³⁶⁹ – the word *patinnu* was written ideographically. A possible explanation is that soon after the conquest of Babylonia by the Persians another scribe assumed the duty of drawing up these documents, and he used to write *patinnu* ideographically.

BM 91002 contains regulations pertaining only to the god Šamaš. We infer from other texts, however, that the *patinnu* was also an item of clothing of the other male deities worshipped in Sippar, i.e. of Bunene and Adad, as well as of one goddess, Anunītu.³⁷⁰ BM 91002: 7 states that the TUG.MURUB₄.ÍB.LÁ of Šamaš is to be made of red wool for (the months of) Nisannu, Ayaru, and Araḥsamna but the colour of the *patinnu* for the second cycle is not given. This may mean either that the colour remained the same in the second cycle, or that it was intended to be the natural colour (white). The former supposition is supported by the fact that although the colour of the *patinnu* for other male gods (Adad and Bunene) was seldom mentioned, wherever it was specified it was always red (*nabāsu*).

The *patinnu* was obviously a belt tied at the height of the waist or the hips, and its size – as in the case of other garments – apparently varied in accordance with the rank of the deity. We infer from Nbn 410: 5–6 that 12 shekels of red (*nabāsu*) wool were used to make the *patinnu* of Šamaš and only 5 shekels for the *patinnu* of Bunene. Instead of the actual weight of the two *patinnus*, the text specifies only the weight of the red wool needed to make the garments. The evidence of CT 44, 73: 19, according to which the *patinnus* of Šamaš and Bunene weighed four minas, supports this assumption. BM 62479 shows that sometimes the *patinnus* were manufactured by weavers from outside, according to this text by Bēl-ušallim from Kutha (see also Bongenaar, *Ebabbar*, p. 323), who delivered two *patinnus* for Šamaš and Bunene. It is the only text that includes the data concerning the price of the *patinnu*, i.e. for two *patinnus* two shekels of silver were paid. Finally, it should be noted that the *patinnu* is not known as a part of the divine attire in Uruk.

2.8. The *lubār pāni*

The *lubār pāni* is known exclusively from the *miḥṣu tenû* lists, and only as a part of the garment of Šarrat Sippar. Most probably it was an item which appeared only in this goddess's clothing, in order to distinguish her more clearly from the other deities. BM 61504: 1 is the only document indicating that the *lubār pāni* was blue-purple. Salonen, NUVI 2, p. 143 suggests the

³⁶⁹ It seems that there was not enough space for the ideographic writing.

³⁷⁰ The *patinnu* belonged probably also to the attire of an other deity, but the name is broken and the reading uncertain, see CT 55, 811: 16 (2 *pa-tin¹-nu^{m[es]}* šá dNi[n⁷-....]).

translation “Gesichtstuch,” obviously because of the second word of the name. The *lubār pāni* is usually mentioned before such headbands or headdresses as the *paršīgu*, the *lubār kulūlu* or the *lubār mētu* and before the *kusītu* (BM 73134; BM 78893), although the term occasionally appears also after the *kusītu* (BM 61182; BM 67633+; BM 100733, and probably also in VS 6, 23: 2). The scarcity of information does not provide a basis for explanations going further than Salonen’s.

2.9. The *lubār qabli* (TÚG.ĜI.A MURUB₄)

This item is mentioned in eleven texts only, in eight of which both words are written ideographically. It is only in BM 61762: 3 and CT 44, 73: 26 that we encounter the syllabic spelling *qab-lu* instead of the usual MURUB₄. Salonen, who knew only Cyr 232, suggested the reading *šubāt qabli*, but since TÚG.ĜI.A is undeniably read as *lubāru* in all the other terms, there are no grounds to suppose that the reading differed in this case.

The *lubār qabli* is mentioned only in the lists of the garments of the goddess Anunītu³⁷¹ or, more specifically, of *Anunītu ša Sippar Anunītu*, as we infer from BM 61762. Thus, it was apparently another characteristic item of her apparel, distinguishing her from the other deities and probably emphasising her military nature.

Only in two texts is the colour of the *lubār qabli* indicated. Five shekels of red wool (*tabarru*) are used for the *īmu ša lubār qabli*, “thread for the *lubār qabli* belt” (BM 61762: 13). Since the same amount of 5 shekels of *tabarru* wool is mentioned in CT 44, 73: 26, one may assume that it was the standard quantity required for making this item. However, according to BM 75767 (= Bertin 1399: 1–2), 1 mina and 19 shekels of *tabarru* wool were used to manufacture it. We infer from BM 74479 (= Bertin 1396): 10–11 that the remaining quota (*rēḫi*) of *tabarru* wool which Nergal-iddin/Šamaš-ēṭir needed to make a *lubār qabli*, cost 2²/₈ shekels of silver (Bongenaar, *Ebabbar*, p. 338).

³⁷¹ BM 59013+, rev. 5’; BM 61580, rev. 3’ (TÚG.ĜI.A ‘*qab-lu*’); BM 61762: 13; BM 64651: 13; BM 67859, rev. 5’; BM 68348+: 13; BM 74479 (= Bertin 1396): 11; BM 75767 (= Bertin 1399): 2; BM 84254, rev. 2’; CT 44, 73: 26; Cyr 232: 25. Only in BM 62667: 16 does the TÚG.MURUB₄ concern the god Adad, but the comparison with other texts leaves no place for doubt that it is a scribal error for TÚG.MURUB₄. <ĪB.LÁ>. Nbk 183: 7, 9, 14 and CT 56, 382: 8 mention *lubār ša qabli* (TÚG *ša* MURUB₄), however, a different item, perhaps similar to *lubār qabli*, is meant there. In both of these texts *lubār ša qabli* was destined for people, not for gods.

2.10. The *lubār (ša) šammamu*

So far, this garment is known only from a fragment of the tablet CT 55, 840: 6', which has now been joined to BM 59013. It is also mentioned in other texts, BM 64651: 14, BM 65146: 14, BM 61765: rev. 3' and BM 83803: 11'. In all of them, the *lubār šammamu* appears in lists of garments for the goddess Anunītu, suggesting that it was a distinguishing item of this deity's attire. We find it before the *lubār kulūlu* and the *lubār mētu* in BM 64651, and after them in BM 59013+. In BM 65146, it takes the final position, preceded by the *patinnu*, the *nēbeḥu* and probably another item whose name has been entirely destroyed and cannot be reconstructed. Based on the entries in BM 59013+ and BM 64651, we suppose that it was a headband or a different type of headdress.

2.11. The *paršīgu* (TÚG.BAR.SI)

The *paršīgu* (pl. *paršīgānu*, usually spelt *paršīgu*^{meš}) was a headdress³⁷² present among the garments of all deities. Their dimensions (and probably also their shape) were always the same – in all the texts which indisputably refer to one *paršīgu* only, the weight specified is always 1/3 mina (20 shekels). VS 6, 16: 5–6 where ^{sig}*paršīgu* belonged to the <pan> *mušê*, suggests that they were attached to this item, perhaps to stabilize its shape. The possibility of using the *paršīgu* in a function other than as a headdress suggests that it was a type of band formed on the deity's head, just like the turban, the meaning suggested in CDA. Contrary to *lubār kulūlu*, *lubār mētu* and *lubār erru*, which appear only in the set of garments for cycle A, the *paršīgu* is present in the set of garments of both cycles. It means that in cycle B it was the only headdress used by the gods, except for *muttatu*, which belongs – in the light of the preserved data – exclusively to the attire of Šamaš.

The texts suggest that a goddess received two of these,³⁷³ while a male god probably received one.³⁷⁴ One of the two *paršīgānu* given to Aya, Šar-rat Sippar, and Šala was adorned with a golden rosette (*ajari pāni*) on its front.³⁷⁵ To differentiate the *paršīgānu* of the goddesses, they were woven

³⁷² “Kopfbinde, Mütze” (AHw 836); “headdress, turban” (CDA 267).

³⁷³ Cf. however, BM 62626: 8 where three *paršīgānu* (and) one (with) *ayaru pānu*-ornament is given to Aya.

³⁷⁴ BM 51447 I 9' quote 2 *paršīgu*s for Bunene, however, the missing plural marker and the fact that in all other texts only one *paršīgu* is mentioned, suggest that we have a scribal error there.

³⁷⁵ Such an interpretation is not certain because in other texts there appears 2 TÚG.BAR.SI.MEŠ 1 *a-ri pa-ni* (BM 62626: 20; cf. BM 78893: 12 (2 *par-š[i-gu]*^{meš} 1] *a-a-ri pa-ni*) which might be also translated as “two *paršīgu*s (and) one rosette.” The suggested interpretation is, however, justified by BM 49333: 4–5, where we find 3

from wool of various colours. BM 49621: 3 (and probably BM 51262: 2) suggests that the *paršīgu* of Šarrat Sippar was blue-purple, or that it was at least partly woven from blue-purple wool, but according to BM 65484+: 18 they were also made of wool. The *paršīgānus* of Aya, Šala, and *mārāt Ebabbar* were woven from red wool or with an addition of red wool. We have no data on the colour of the *paršīgu* of Šamaš; we know, however, that the *paršīgu* of Bunene was white,³⁷⁶ which plainly distinguished it from those of the other deities.

While in Sippar the *paršīgānu* of all deities had a standard weight, in Uruk its weight was strongly connected with the position of the goddesses in the pantheon, but – in contrast to Sippar – it was woven from red wool dyed with the *inzaḥurētu* dye.

TABLE 28: The *paršīgu* in the texts from Uruk

Gods	Weight	Number	Colour
Ištar-ša-Uruk	2.5 minas ³⁷⁷	2	<i>tabarru ša inzaḥurēti</i>
Nanaya	not known ³⁷⁸	4	<i>tabarru ša inzaḥurēti</i>
Bēltu-ša-Rēš	not known ³⁷⁹	1	not known
Urigallu ša Ištar-ša-Uruk	2 minas ³⁸⁰	1	<i>tabarru ša inzaḥurēti</i>
Urigallu ša Ušur-amāssu	1 minas ³⁸¹	1	KI.MIN (= <i>tabarru ša inzaḥurēti</i>)
Ušur-amāssu	55 shekels ³⁸²	2	<i>tabarru ša inzaḥurēti</i>
Urkayītu	50 ³⁸³ or 55 ³⁸⁴ shekels	1	<i>tabarru ša inzaḥurēti</i>

TÚG.BAR.SI.MEŠ *ina lib-bi* 51^{en} šá a-a-ri pa-ni, “three *paršīgus*, among them one with front rosette.” For this reason I translate BM 73185: 7 1^{it} *par-ši-gu* 1^{en} a-a-ri pa-ni as “one *paršīgu* (without front rosette) and one (*paršīgu*) with the front rosette.”

³⁷⁶ BM 50066: 6; BM 50745 I 4, rev. I 4; BM 51099, rev. I 5; BM 51447 I 9; BM 65162: 12 (god’s name not preserved).

³⁷⁷ Mentioned only in YOS 7, 183: 4 and PTS 2282: 16, see BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 155. The weight 9 minas 20 shekels mentioned there in l. 15 comprises the weight of all the *paršīgānu* from the following lines.

³⁷⁸ Mentioned only in YOS 7, 183: 13, however 4 minas 50 shekels is the weight of 1 *lubār kūlulu*, 1 *lubār erru* and 4 *paršīgus*.

³⁷⁹ Mentioned only in PTS 2282: 17, see BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 220 (weight not given).

³⁸⁰ YOS 7, 183: 32 and PTS 2282: 18, see BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 354 (weight not given).

³⁸¹ YOS 7, 183: 34 and PTS 2282: 23, see BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 354 (weight not given).

³⁸² YOS 7, 183: 24 and PTS 2282: 19, see BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 244 (weight not given).

³⁸³ GC 2, 121: 2–3.

Gula	50 shekels ³⁸⁵	1	<i>tabarru ša inzaḥurēti</i>
^d IGI.DU	50 shekels ³⁸⁶	1	<i>tabarru ša inzaḥurēti</i>
Bēlēte	10 ³⁸⁷ or 15 ³⁸⁸ shekels	2	<i>tabarru ša inzaḥurēti</i>

2.12 The *lubār kulūlu*

The *lubār kulūlu* is the only headdress mentioned in BM 91002 as an item of the garments of Šamaš, and in the Neo-Babylonian texts from Sippar from the sixth to the fifth centuries B.C. it is found as a part of the clothing of the many deities who were worshipped at that time. Most of the extant references pertain to the god Šamaš, and this piece of clothing is almost always mentioned together with *lubār mētu* (where the case is different, it must be due to the preservation of the text). The important point is that the data from individual texts agree with the regulation known from BM 91002, i.e. the *lubār kulūlu* belongs exclusively to the attire of Šamaš in cycle A; the same applies also to the *lubār kulūlu* of the all other gods and goddesses.³⁸⁹

The *lubār kulūlu* was manufactured from red and blue-purple wool. Evidence confirms that red wool was used to make the item for Šamaš (BM 49931), Šarrat Sippar (BM 49333) and Šala (BM 51422), and blue-purple wool to make those of Šamaš as well as of Aya, Bunene, Šarrat Sippar, and Anunītu.³⁹⁰ We know nothing of the colour of the *lubār kulūlu* of the goddess Gula. Since the data on the colours of wool from which this garment was woven are so scarce, it is impossible to determine whether each deity's *lubār kulūlu* was indeed of a different colour. We infer from the available information either that only the *lubār kulūlus* of Šamaš and Šarrat Sippar were made of both types of wool, or that one piece of headgear was red and the other blue-purple.

Neither are we certain of the weight of the *lubār kulūlu*, since we do not know if the amount of wool mentioned in the texts refers to the entire item or merely to the dyed wool used to weave it. We have good reason to be-

³⁸⁴ TOTTEN 32: 9–11 and PTS 2282: 20, see BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 259 (weight not given).

³⁸⁵ YOS 7, 183: 27 and PTS 2282: 21, see BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 277 (weight not given).

³⁸⁶ GC 2, 105: 3; GC 2, 121: 11–12 and PTS 2282: 22, see BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 284 (weight not given).

³⁸⁷ GC 2, 121: 7–8.

³⁸⁸ TOTTEN 32: 13, cited in BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 181.

³⁸⁹ The only exception is BM 68348+ concerning the garments for the *lubuštu* ceremony of the month Tašritu, in which in l. 14 the *lubār kulūlu* for Anunītu is mentioned. Is this a mistake of the scribe?

³⁹⁰ References are included in Indices in Part 2.

lieve that 30 shekels of *takiltu* wool were used to make the *lubār kulūlu* of Šamaš, and possibly also the *lubār kulūlu* and *lubār mētu* of Anunītu (CT 44, 73: 24). Other texts contain slightly different data. According to BM 62420: 1–3, 28 shekels of blue-purple wool were used for the *lubār kulūlus* of Šamaš and Bunene, although a comparison with Cam 382 suggests that 20 shekels were used for Šamaš and 8 shekels for Bunene. The *lubār kulūlus* and the *lubār mētus* of other deities might have weighed less, e.g. 20 shekels of wool were used to make both items for Adad (CT 44, 73: 25; cf. however, CT 4, 38a: 17–18, where the weight of his *lubār kulūlu* and *lubār mētu* is 40 shekels), and only 5 shekels for the same items for Bunene (CT 4, 38a: 14–15). We infer from BM 79793+ (rev. I, 21'–23') that the *lubār kulūlu* of Šarrat Sippar weighed less than 20 shekels because the total weight of the *lubār kulūlu*, *lubār erru* and 2 *paršīgānu* was 1 mina. Since the weight of a *paršigu* in Sippar was the same (20 shekels), only 20 shekels remain for her *lubār kulūlu* and *lubār erru*. BM 79793+ (rev. II 10'–12') suggests that the *lubār kulūlu* and *lubār erru* of the goddess Aya were 10 shekels heavier, as the total weight of these two together with her two *paršīgānu* was 1 mina 10 shekels.

Although scholars accept the meaning “headdress” the question is whether its shape was determined during the process of weaving, or whether the weaver manufactured a kind of a shawl, shaped around the head of deity or the king. The second possibility is justified by KAR 423 rev. II 48f. and by Maqlu V 47f. (both cited in CAD K 528f.), according to which the *lubār kulūlu* could be damaged by the wind. It suggests that *lubār kulūlu* was a type of headdress similar to a turban.

The *lubār kulūlu* is known also from Uruk but only as an item belonging to the attire of Ištar of Uruk and Nanaya and most probably Bēltu-ša-Reš.³⁹¹ It appears only in YOS 7, 183: 6 and in PTS 3471: 4,³⁹² and in both cases blue-purple wool was used. Its weight is difficult to establish because in the second text 9 minas 35 shekels were used for the *kusītu* of Ištar of Uruk, *naḥlaptu* of Nanaya and *lubār kulūlu* (probably one for each goddess). In YOS 7, 183: 6–7 it is not clear whether 5 minas 45 shekels of blue-purple wool was used for one *lubār kulūlu* and one *lubār erri* of Ištar of Uruk, or also for two gold-coloured garments and one dark-coloured *guḥalšu* and for thread. The same problem concerns lines 12–13; we do not know if 4 minas 50 shekels is the weight of the *lubār kulūlu* and *lubār erru* made of blue-purple wool or also of 4 *paršīgus* and 1 *guḥalšu* of dark colour, but because of great amount of wool only the last possibility seems right.

³⁹¹ BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 15 mentions only the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanaya. However, it seems that lines 18–20 have to be restored as in lines 6–7 and 12–13, i.e. ... *in-za]-ḥu-ri-[e-ti x ma-na]* ¹⁹5 GÍN [^{tūg}*mi-iḫ-ši šá* SÍG.ZA.GÍN.KUR.RA 1 ^{tūg}*lu-bar ku-lu-lu*] ²⁰1 ^{tūg}*e-r[i x* ^{tūg}*par-ši-gu* ^(me?) 1 *gú-ḫal-ša šá* MUD (*ù ti-mu*)).

³⁹² See BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 154.

2.13. The *lubār mēṭu*³⁹³

This item was not known in the ninth century, when the genuine of the presently known BM 91002 was written; the earliest mention of it known to me appears in BM 49883: 2, dating to the third year of Nabopolassar. Just like the *kulūlu*, the *lubār mēṭu* also is known *only* from the texts of cycle A.

Unlike the *lubār kulūlu*, it was worn only by male deities and the goddess Anunītu.³⁹⁴ In Uruk the *lubār mēṭu* appears only as an item of the attire of Ištar (^d15)³⁹⁵ and Bēltu-ša-Rēš decorated with golden sequins in the shape of lions.³⁹⁶

Although the item appears in the texts hundreds of times, its meaning is not yet established. W. von Soden, AHW 1228 (s.v. *šibṭu* 3) suggested (which cannot be proven) that it consists of lace-work (“etwa Klöppelarbeit”); CAD M II 45, where the exact reading *mēṭu* was established, gives only the general translation “a piece of apparel, part of the divine wardrobe”; a similar general translation (“ein Kleidungsstück”) is given by Salonen in NUVI 3, Waetzold 1980–1983a, p. 29 (“*šibṭu*-Gewand?”) and Beaulieu, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 15 (“a garment”).³⁹⁷

An important observation concerning the function of the *lubār mēṭu* was made by Oppenheim, *JNES* 6, p. 175, who noted its connection with *lubār kulūlu*, translating it as “bandeau or ribbon” and suggesting that it was used as a headband. Further, because of the light weight of the *lubār mēṭu*, he suggests that “the term refers to a narrow fillet or the like” and that it was used as “a border decoration on the monochrome fabrics of Mesopotamia” “a border decorated with the golden ornaments.” However, the new texts published here, not known to Oppenheim, in which *lubār mēṭu* is not preceded or followed by *lubār kulūlu* and *lubār erru*, prove that it was a separate item and not an element of another garment.

The fact that the *lubār kulūlu* and *lubār mēṭu* are quite often paired and that sometimes *lubār mēṭu* precedes *lubār kulūlu* suggests that their function was similar or even the same. This idea is supported by the fact that in Sippar the *lubār kulūlu* belongs to the attire of both gods and goddesses, while the *lubār mēṭu* is known as only a part of the attire of gods and only

³⁹³ The previous reading *šibṭu* (so AHW 1228 and Salonen in NUVI 3) was replaced by the proper reading by the authors of CAD M II 45f, on the base of CT 55, 809 (82-7-14, 1856): 5 (*me-e-ṭu*).

³⁹⁴ A serious problem is posed by VS 6, 16, where *lubār mēṭu*, mentioned in l. 18, is followed by the name of ^dŠa-la šá *Sip-par*^{ki}. It might be a mistake for ^dŠarrat! šá *Sip-par*^{ki}, but no other texts mention *lubār mēṭu* as a part of her attire.

³⁹⁵ NCBT 557: 7, see BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 156.

³⁹⁶ NCBT 1251: 6 and PTS 2927: 4, both cited by BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 220.

³⁹⁷ Concerning the word *mēṭu* and the logographic writing (^d)GIŠ.KU.AN, see BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 383.

of one goddess, Anunītu, and *lubār erri* is only a part of the attire of the goddesses. In the light of these data the following idea seems to me most convincing: *lubār kulūlu* was a headdress or headband used by all gods and goddesses during some part of the ceremony, while during the special part of the ceremony (i.e. climax) the gods were dressed with the *lubār mētu* and the goddesses with the *lubār erri*. The presence of both the *lubār mētu* and *lubār erri* in the attire of Anunītu results most probably – as has been suggested previously – from her two-faced nature.

Beside a few texts (BM 49333, BM 73113, and probably BM 49931 and BM 51422) where red wool (*tabarru*) for *lubār kulūlu* or finished items are mentioned, all other texts mention only *takiltu* wool. Unfortunately, it cannot be inferred clearly from the texts whether the entire headdress was made of wool of this colour or whether wool of different colours were also used. It is impossible to establish the precise weight of the item, since in all the texts discovered so far it is mentioned together with the *lubār kulūlu*, or with the *lubār kulūlu* and several other garments of the gods (cf. *supra*, s.v. *lubār kulūlu*). The texts from Uruk, recently published and discussed by Beaulieu, show that the *lubār mētu* was decorated with golden sequins, which is not attested in Sippar.

2.14. The *lubār erri*

As was observed above, the *lubār erri*³⁹⁸ was mentioned after the *lubār kulūlu* and *lubār mētu*, however, among hundred of texts concerning the manufacturing of garments for the gods, it appears only in two texts from Uruk (TCL 12, 109: 8 and YOS 7, 183: 6 (Ištar-of Uruk), 12 (Nanaya), 20 (Bēltu-ša-Rēš)) and in eleven texts from Sippar. Only one of the texts from Uruk, TCL 12, 109, is dated to the Neo-Babylonian period (fourteenth year of Nabonidus), while all other texts, the remaining one from Uruk and all the texts from Sippar are dated to the time of the Persian domination over Babylon. Additionally, only three texts, in which the person responsible for the garments is Šamaš-šum-iddin, belong to the category of the classical *dullu pešū* texts (CT 44, 73; BM 65162 and BM 67160) and two (BM 61504 and BM 61182³⁹⁹) to the classical *miḫšu tenū* lists.⁴⁰⁰ The remaining texts concern the issue of materials (or silver, in the broken beginning of Cyr 253) to the individual owners of the prebend (Cam 158, Cam 277) or

³⁹⁸ Concerning the word, see OPPENHEIM, *JNES* 8, p. 175, n. 12.

³⁹⁹ The heading of the text is atypical (*dullu^{1a} išparu tenū ša lubuštu*), but the content is typical for the *miḫšu tenū* texts.

⁴⁰⁰ Add also BM 79793+ (a type of a settlement of accounts including data about the issue of wool and completed garments, i.e. it includes a part of the data of both *dullu pešū* and *miḫšu tenū* lists).

to the weavers (Cyr 253).⁴⁰¹ It is difficult to say whether such a chronological distribution of the texts is accidental or whether it reflects the real situation, i.e. that *lubār erru* appeared only at the time of Nabonidus and became a permanent element of the goddesses' attire only during the Achaemenid period. The small number of texts mentioning *lubār erru* in the *dullu pešû* texts might be explained by the fact that the item does not belong to the prebends of the dominant family, which focused its interest on garments for Šamaš. I cannot find any explanation of the rare presence of *lubār erru* in the classical *miḥṣu tenû* lists because they comprise the complete set of garments for individual gods and goddesses.

The most interesting observations concern the fact that all *lubār errus* belonged exclusively to the garments of the goddesses, i.e. it was a characteristic element of female attire. All the known texts confirm that the *lubār errus* were made of wool, red being used for those of the goddess Šala, and blue-purple for those of Anunītu and Šarrat Sippar; we do not know the colour of Aya's *erru*, which is mentioned only in BM 79793+, col. I 19 and col. II 11'. Although no text gives the weight of *lubār erru* alone, it is certain that the item was relatively light. The total weight of the *lubār kulūlu*, two *paršīgānu*, and the *lubār erru* for Aya was 1 mina 10 shekels (BM 79793+, rev. col. I 18'–21' and col. II 10'–11'). The same set of garments for Šarrat Sippar weighed 10 shekels less (BM 79793+, rev. col. I 22'–23' and col. II 12'–13').

For the manufacture of *lubār erru* red and blue-purple wool were used. The *tabarru* wool for the *lubār erri*, the *paršīgu* and the *lubār kulūlu* of Šala weighed 52 shekels (CT 44, 73: 27, read at the end of line: ^dša!-[la]) or 27 shekels (BM 67160, rev. 6'–7')⁴⁰² and for Gula 32 shekels (CT 44, 73: 28) or even only 17 shekels (BM 67160, rev. 9–13').⁴⁰³ One mina 2 shekels of *takiltu* wool were used for two *paršīgus* and for the *lubār kulūlu* and *lubār erru* of Anunītu (CT 44, 73: 23), and only five shekels for her *lubār mēṣu*, *lubār kulūlu* and *lubār erru* (Cam 158: 1–3).

From the texts in which *lubār erru* is specified, we infer that this item of clothing was used only in cycle A.⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰¹ BM 99462 (time of Cambyzes, [*šar Bābilī*], *šar mātāti*) only the right part of the tablet mentioning ^{tugr}e¹-ir (l.3) among other garments for the gods issued to Gimillu is preserved; CT 55, 846, mentioning ^{tug}e-ri in the first line, is badly preserved (no date).

⁴⁰² BM 67160, rev. 6'–7': e-ri lu-ba-[ri ù TÚ]G.BAR.SI. Note that instead of lu-ba-[ru] the *lubār kulūlu* would be expected but the two first signs are clear and there is no place for the word *kulūlu*.

⁴⁰³ In the last-mentioned text, it is the total weight of e-ri ^{tug}lu-ba-<ri> u TÚG.BAR. MEŠ šá ^dGula u 5 TÚG.NÍG.ÍB.LÁ.MEŠ šá ^dME.ME.

⁴⁰⁴ Month II: BM 67160; CT 44, 73; Cyr 253; Cam 158; Cam 277. Month VIII: BM 61182 and BM 61504. They raise some doubt as to whether the item was not used also in cycle B. The only argument is based on a badly preserved passage in Cyr 241: 14 (garments for *lubuštu* Addaru, i.e. cycle B) where the reading TÚG.ĪIA ^re¹-ir is possible.

All dictionaries accept unanimously that the *lubār erru* was a type of headband (CAD E 320: “headband”; AHW 244a, s.v. *erru* II 2. “Kopfband”). The best argument for such a function is delivered by KAR 298: 30 and 39, stating that *e-ri ina* SAG.[DU-šú-nu *raksu*] and *e-ri* UD.KA.BAR *ina* SAG.DU-šú, and similarly by BBR 47 II 47’ (*e-ri* UD.KA.BAR *ina* SA[G.DU]).⁴⁰⁵ Although both texts concern *erru* made of copper, however, these items of the gods’ paraphernalia are known in both metal and wool (e.g., the *lubār kulūlu*), which suggests that the function of the woollen *lubār erru* was the same as the one made of copper.

An effort to identify the *lubār erru* has been made by K. Deller,⁴⁰⁶ who compared KAR 298: 38–44 with the headdress on one of the Neo-Assyrian reliefs from the time of Ashurnasirpal II and called it a “Kappe” (“cap”). His idea can be checked now on the basis that the goddesses (except for Anunitu) had in their wardrobe two kinds of headwear, the first used not only by goddesses but also by the gods, while the second one was reserved exclusively for goddesses. Representations of gods and goddesses, especially in glyptic, allow the possibility of identifying these headdresses. Especially instrumental is an article by D. Collon concerning the goddess Gula.⁴⁰⁷ Two different headdresses can be recognised in the representations on her stamp seals, one which corresponds exactly to K. Deller’s identification of *erru* and the other which can be described as a type of a crown with a feather or feather-like element. If the first one is really an *erru*-cap, the second one should be recognised as the *lubār kulūlu* headdress.

2.15. The *lubār hubbitu/hubbutu*

This type of garment is known only from two texts: VS 6, 107 where blue-purple wool was given *a-na* ²*hu-ub-bu-tu*₄ *šá* ^dGAŠAN *Sip-par*^{ki} and BM 65127, where 40 shekels of blue-purple wool was given for *lubār hubbitu* of the Šarrat Sippar, except for 8 shekels which are (placed) in the *bīt-karê*-storehouse (²*a-na* TÚG.ĪLA *hu-ub-bi-tu*₄ ³*šá* ^dGAŠAN *Sip-par*^{ki} ⁴*ina lib-bi* 8 GÍN ⁵*ina* É.GUR₇.MEŠ). The texts suggest that it was a garment specific for Šarrat Sippar. The fact that both texts were written in the month of Šabātu (VS 6, 107 on the 25th day of the accession year of Cambyses after the death of Cyrus, BM 65127 on the 17th day of the first year of Darius) might suggest that it was prepared for the festival in that month, but more data is needed. Nothing can be said about the shape and the weight of the garment, except that for its manufacture blue-purple wool was used – a colour typical for all garments of Šarrat Sippar.

⁴⁰⁵ Both are cited in CAD E 320.

⁴⁰⁶ See WAETZOLDT 1980–1983b, p. 199–200.

⁴⁰⁷ COLLON 1994.

2.16. The *muttatu*

This item of dress is mentioned in BM 91002 with reference to the second cycle (cycle B) of the *lubuštu* of Šamaš, i.e. in the months VI, VII, and XII. Curiously enough, so far no texts have been discovered which prove that *muttatu* appeared among the garments of other deities. Thus, we must assume that it was a distinguishing item of the attire of Šamaš, used exclusively during the second cycle, and that it does not belong to the garments of other deities.

Neither is the meaning of *muttatu* certain. Based on VS 6, 15, Ungnad suggests the translation “Schläfentuch,”⁴⁰⁸ while AHW 689 and CDA 225 propose “Hälfte” or “half”, which corresponds with the texts from the second millennium B.C. but tells us nothing about the application of *muttatu* as a god’s garment.⁴⁰⁹ A different meaning, i.e. “headband(?)” in my opinion more accurate, was suggested in CAD M II 310, 312, although without any explanation. It seems to me that support for this interpretation might be found via careful analysis of the position of the item in the *miḫṣu tenû* lists.

It should be noted that *muttatu* follows the five essential items: *salḫu*, *ḫullānu*, *guḫalṣu*, *patinnu*, and *nēbeḫu*. The same position is occupied by *lubār kulūlu* and *lubār mēḫu* in other lists of the cycle A (the months I, II and VIII)⁴¹⁰ where *muttatu* is not mentioned.⁴¹¹ These facts suggest that the function of *muttatu* was the same as the function of *lubār kulūlu* and *lubār mēḫu* in cycle A. The difference between these types of headgear, insofar as it can be determined based on the available documents, was that the *lubār kulūlu* and the *lubār mēḫu* were used by various gods, while the *muttatu* was characteristic of Šamaš only.

The available texts seldom specify the weight of the *muttatu*. According to VS 6, 15: 9, a *muttatu* weighed 2 minas, and according to BM 49757, *x* mina(s) 24 shekels; the figures specified in other texts are lower, but pertain to blue-purple (*takiltu*) wool only. Thus, BM 64129 (= Bertin 2944): 1 speaks of 13½ shekels, and BM 79560: 7, of 10 shekels. We learn from BM 91002 that the *muttatus* were made from red and blue-purple wool and

⁴⁰⁸ NRV Glossar, p. 101.

⁴⁰⁹ The meaning “Hälfte” was accepted without any explanation by Salonen in NUVI 3 in his translation of Nbn 284: 10 and Nbn 349: 2.

⁴¹⁰ If we assume that the presence of *muttatu* of Šamaš implies the *lubuštu* ceremony in Cycle B, we must note that *kulūlu* and *mēḫu* as well as *paršīgu* could have appeared in the garments of Anunītu of Cycle B (cf. for example BM 54258).

⁴¹¹ There is, however, a difficulty with the translation in Nbn 349, which concerns *x* shekels of *takiltu* wool *ana muttatu ša kībsu*. We can assume that what is meant here is a kind of an ornament (or braid) resembling the one used in the manufacture of *muttattu*-headdress.

byssus, supported by some data from individual texts.⁴¹² If we assume the figures in the first of the two texts mentioned above to be indicative of the total weight of a *muttatu*, we may infer that it was a large item, incompatible with *lubār kulūlu*, *lubār mētu* or *paršīgu* in terms of size, and therefore its name should be translated as “an (elaborate) headdress” rather than “headband.”⁴¹³

3. Others

3.1. The *adīlu*

adīlu, pl. *adīlānu*, is associated exclusively with the *kusītu*-garments. In the previously known texts from Sippar, the *adīlānu* were attested only as an item of Aya's garments, but BM 82568: 5 makes it clear that it also constituted an item of Šarrat Sippar's clothing. In texts from Uruk we find the *adīlānu* of the *kusītu*-garments of Ištar-of-Uruk and Gula;⁴¹⁴ additionally, NCBT 377⁴¹⁵ mentions two *adīlānu* for the *bīt hilšu* of Nabû and Nanaya and for the *bīt hilšu* of the temple of Ušur-amāssu. In this last text the *adīlānu* evidently is not connected with the particular god, because one item was given for the *bīt hilšu* of two deities: Nabû and Nanaya.

Only two texts from Sippar mention the colour of the *adīlānu*, in both cases blue-purple. According to Nbn 751: 1–3, 30 shekels of *takiltu* wool were used for manufacturing the *adīlānu* and according to Cam 230 this item was made of seven shekels plus five shekels delivered previously. It is interesting to note that besides alum (mentioned in BM 59990) a species of *qanû*-reed was used for the dyeing of the *adīlānu*.⁴¹⁶ BM 59642 mentions the use of *inzahūrētu*-dye for *adīlānu* of the *kusītu* of Aya.

The meaning of the word is very difficult to establish. W. von Soden, AHw, p. 13 and CDA, p. 5, give only general translations (“ein Festgewand” and “a part of the ceremonial garment”). Only in CAD A I 125, based on the observation that the word is mentioned exclusively in the plural, a meaning “tassel, or the like” was suggested.⁴¹⁷ One can try to identify the item thanks to the representation of Gula on a seal from the

⁴¹² The use of red and blue-purple wool in manufacturing the *muttatu* might be deduced from Nbn 284: 10–11: 1 *ma-na* ^{sig}*ta-bar-ri ta-kil-tu* ¹¹[...] *ša* 2-*ta* [...] *lu-ba-ri*^{mes} *mu-ut-ta-tu*₄ and from CT 55, 865: [x] GÍN SÍG.ZA.GÍN.KUR.RA *ul-tu* ²SÍG.<ZA> .GÍN.KUR.RA *ša* LUGAL *a-na* ³*mu-ut-ta-tu*₄ *ša* ITI.KIN.

⁴¹³ As was tentatively suggested by CAD M II 312a, s.v. 3. “headband (?)”

⁴¹⁴ In YBC 9431: 3–4 (cited by BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 155 (on p. 15 add the name of Gula).

⁴¹⁵ BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 203.

⁴¹⁶ See also BM 74670: 7–9 (GI.MEŠ for *šapê ša adīlānu ša kusītu ša* ^d*Aya*).

⁴¹⁷ Accepted now by BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 15: “tassels(?)”

British Museum.⁴¹⁸ The hem of her outer mantle is much longer than the hem of Ištar (top, left side, no. 1). Maybe it consists of tassels, or a kind of fringe.

3.2. The *taḥapšu*⁴¹⁹

The word describes a type of blanket or coverlet used mainly for special occasions during the *lubuštu* ceremony.⁴²⁰ This is clear from BM 70592 (Darius 17), where the preserved beginning concerns ¹*lu-bu-uš-tu₄ šá* ¹*UD¹. [10.KÁM]* ²*šá* ITU.GUD MU.17.KÁM ³*a-na* ^m*Ú-bal-liṭ-su-^dGu-[la]* ⁴*SUM^{na}*. Next it is stated there that ⁵*r⁹²¹* *ma-na* SÍG.ĪIA ⁶*[a]-na ta-ḥap-šú šá* ITU.GUD ⁸*[^m]*IR-ja* ¹⁰*rUŠ¹. [BAR GADA]* SUM^{na}. Also in the badly preserved text Nbn 494 *taḥapšu* appears in the content of months Nisannu and Ayaru, most probably also in connection with the *lubuštu* ceremonies. Wool as a raw material for the manufacturing of *taḥapšu* appears also in a few other texts: BM 52636, rev. 4^r; BM 66814: 7; BM 101128: 5 and in Nbk 240: 1. In Nbk 240 for manufacturing the *taḥapšu* red wool was given to Mukīn-zēri, son of Šamaš-aḥ-iddin, and Līšīru, son of Šamaš-uballit. The same conclusion can be deduced from Nbk 392, where Šapik-zēri, son of Šamaš-aḥ-iddin, the weaver of multicoloured cloth, received silver for (buying) alum *a-na ta-ḥap-šú*, used obviously during the process of dyeing. In the light of these texts at least part of *taḥapšu* was made of or with an addition of coloured wool.*

Only in a few texts is the quantity of wool used for manufacturing of the *taḥapšu* given: 1 mina 42 shekels in BM 52636; 18½ minas *ri-ḫi-it* [SÍG.ĪIA] in BM 66814, and ⁹*r²¹* minas in the above mentioned BM 70592. The great amount of at least 23 minas 20 shekels of wool for *taḥapšu* of Šamaš and the gods of Sippar is mentioned in Cam 90 and parallel text Cam 140 (see above, p. 58).

A different picture, i.e. that many *taḥapšu* blankets were manufactured of linen, is suggested by the *tabû* texts, where they are regularly preceded by the determinative GADA; also when a total is given, the garments are described exclusively as x GADA.(MEŠ), i.e. “x linen garments.” The *tabû* texts, just like the *miḥṣu tenû* texts, which concern mainly the items of garments manufactured of linen, belong to the final stage, i.e. the issuing of garments for a particular ceremony. The texts distinguish new (*eššu*) from old or used blankets (*labīru*); the first were given to the highest gods (in most texts only for Šamaš and Aya), while the second were destined for

⁴¹⁸ COLLON 1994, p. 47 (top, right side, no. 2).

⁴¹⁹ Concerning the *taḥapšu*-blankets in the Middle-Assyrian period, see CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM 1999.

⁴²⁰ Note the atypical writing *ta-ḥap-ta-šú* in BM 52636, rev. 4^r; *ta-ḥa-ap-pa-áš-šú* in BM 101128: 5 and *ta-aḥ-ḥa-áš-pu* in Nbk 240: 2 (collation of BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 330).

gods of lower rank. Additionally, for making the blankets *salḫu* and *kibsu* items were used, also according to the rank of the particular god, i.e. the blankets for Šamaš (seldom also for Aya) were made from new *salḫu*, while the blankets for other gods were manufactured from new or old *kibsu*.

The *taḥapšu* blankets are known also from the Uruk texts.⁴²¹ According to GC 1, 388: 17–18, 50 shekels of thick yarn (*īmu kabbaru*) were used for making *ta-ḥap-šú* of Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu. Linen yarn (GADA *īmu*) for manufacturing blankets for sanctuaries (*papāḫu*) issued for the weavers is mentioned in YOS 6, 113: 8, 18. YOS 6, 237: 22, mentioning 2 TÚG.KUR.RA *ina* TÚG.KUR.RA *ša* ^{sig}*ta-ḥap-šú*, might be interpreted in the sense that here for manufacturing TÚG.KUR.RA (an ordinary garment) a yarn used usually for producing blankets was utilised.⁴²²

3.3. The *kitû ša dalat šamê* (GIŠ.IG AN^e/šá-me-e)

To date only two texts have been known which mention the *dalāt šamê*, i.e. Nbn 1121 and Cam 415. The first concerns the linen garments issued for repair or given back to be placed in the *šaddu* chest. Among the items ¹²¹*en* *šá* GIŠ.IG AN^e ¹³*šá* ^d*Gu-la*, “one (linen) for the *dalat šamê* of Gula” is mentioned. The second text informs us that ⁹GADA *šá* GIŠ.IG *šá-me-e šá* ^dIM ¹⁰*la-bi-ri* was given back to the Ebabbar temple by Bunene-šimanni, the person well known as the mender (*mukabbû*). We can add BM 66166, concerning the garments for the *tabû* procession mentioning *sal*]-*ḫu eš-šú a-na* GADA.MEŠ ^{rev.12} [*a-n*]*a* ^dUTU, and further on ^{rev.13} [...] ^{1x1} *a-na* GADA.¹MEŠ¹ AN^e ¹⁴ [*a-n*]*a* ^d*rA-a*¹, and still further on for another god or goddess whose name is not preserved. Taking into account both texts, CAD D 56 suggests reading *šá dalti* and translates “curtain,” thus omitting the second part of the name of that curtain. Although only in the second text is GIŠ.IG preceded by GADA *ša*, it seems that it preserved the full name of the curtain, i.e. “linen curtain for the door of heaven.”

The text published below and BM 66166 reveal that at least two of the highest gods (Šamaš and Bunene) and the goddess Aya of the Sippar pantheon had their own “door to the heaven” in their temples or chapels. BM 66166 is important because the preparation of curtains on the occasion of the *tabû* procession suggests that the “door to the heaven” would be used: perhaps each god or goddess joined the procession by passing through its own “door of the heaven.” It seems that in the Babylonian temple there really existed a special chapel(s) or chamber(s) called *šamû*, “heaven.” At

⁴²¹ Add the *taḥapšu* to the list of “Articles of clothing” in BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 15.

⁴²² Probably much more data will be found concerning this item in Uruk when the final edition of the texts used by Beaulieu are published.

least one early Neo-Babylonian text can be cited here, the letter ABL 468⁴²³, informing the Assyrian king that a golden plate of heaven (*šamê ša hurāši* or *šamê ša hurāši e-le-nu-u[š-šú]*, obv. 9 and rev. 2–3, respectively) has been stolen.⁴²⁴

In the text presented below only *šiddu* is given, i.e. its length, which might denote here the direction from top to bottom. The lack of the second measurement, i.e. its width, might be explained by the fact that this was standard and need not be given. Not everything is clear, for example we might wonder whether there is any connection between lines 1–3, where the measurements of curtains of Aya and Bunene are given, and 8–12, where the weight of both curtains is given. If such a relationship really did exist, it would mean that the curtains of Aya were longer but weighed less, i.e. they were manufactured with finer yarn, while the curtains of Bunene were manufactured with thicker yarn and were shorter.

The measurement of each curtain were quite important, i.e. ca. 7.66 m of Aya and 7.5 m of Bunene. Unfortunately, nothing can be said with certainty about the function of *salhu* (l. 4), ca. 5 m long and *kibsu* (l. 5), ca. 3 m long, but the fact that only one measurement was given suggests that they also should be recognised as a type of curtain.

BM 64591 (82-9-18, 4571)

5.0 × 4.0 cm

6.2.Nbn 5

1. 13 KÙŠ 8 ŠU.SI UŠ GIŠ.IG ʾAN^e₁
2. šá^d A-a 13 KÙŠ UŠ
3. GIŠ.IG AN^e šá^d Bu-ne-ne
4. 1^{en} sal-ḫi 10 KÙŠ UŠ
5. 1 kib-su 6 KÙŠ UŠ
6. a-na bat-qa ina IGI^m Ar-ra-bi
7. lúTÚG.KAL.KAL

⁴²³ For edition and commentary, see SLA 247; LANDSBERGER, BBEA, p. 67f. CHAMAZA, AOAT 295, no. 143, and DIETRICH, SAA 17, no. 8, and p. xxii–xxiii, where he identified the sender of the letter, Nabû-ahhē-lumur, “a commander of Sargon’s troop stationed in Sippar ... a colleague of Ilu-iada’ the Governor of Dur-Kurigalzu/Der” and suggests dating the letter “around 710.”

⁴²⁴ Note, however, that in this letter and in a few other cultic and administrative texts (cited in CAD Š I 348) *šamê* (*ša*) *hurāši* is usually understood as a canopy. ÇAGIRGAN 1976, p. 211 (cited after BIDMEAD 2002, p. 74) recognised in *šamê hurāši* a blue-purple cloth embroidered with gold. If we translate *šamê* (*ša*) *hurāši* as golden plate of heaven, it might denote a part of a chamber in some texts.

- Rev. 8. 10 *ma-na* $\frac{1}{3}$ GÍN KIL.LAL [(2 *sal-ḫi*(?)]
 9. ṛšá¹ GIŠ.IG AN^e šá^d ṛHAR!¹
 10. 5 *ma-na* 15 GÍN KIL.LAL
 11. ṛ2¹ *sal-ḫi a-na* GIŠ.IG AN^e
 12. šá^d A-a PAP 4 GADA.MEŠ
 13. ^mŠu-la-a it-ta-din
 14. a-na GIŠ.IG AN^e šá^d [HAR[?]]
 15. u^d A-a SUMⁱⁿ ITU.GUD

- L.h.e. 16. UD.6.KÁM MU.5.KÁM
 17. ^{md}AG-I LUGAL E.KI

L. 9. What is preserved looks like two vertical wedges, with the second one broken, maybe we have to read ṛ2¹. With such a reading at the beginning of line, most probably nothing is missing at the end of line 8.

L. 13 Šulā is most probably identical with Šulā/Šamaš-aḫ-iddin, *išpar birmi*, see BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 351.

13 cubits 8 fingers, the length of (curtain for) the door of heaven of Aya;

13 cubits, the length of (curtain for) the door of heaven of Bunene;
 one *salḫu* of 10 cubits length (and) one *kibsu* of 6 cubits length
 (were given) to Arrabi, the mender, for repair.

10 minas 20 shekels, the weight of [(2 *salḫu*-curtains)] for the door
 of heaven of Bunene (?);

5 minas 15 shekels, the weight of 2 *salḫus* for (the curtains of) the
 door of heaven of Aya, total 4 (pieces of) linen Šulā has delivered;
 (these linen) for (the curtains of) the doors of heaven of [Bunene]
 and Aya were given.

Month of Ayaru, sixth day, fifth year of Nabonidus, king of Baby-
 lon.

Probably the *dalat šamē* of Anunītu is mentioned in BM 64531:

BM 64531 (82-9-18, 4511)

4.2 × 3.2 cm

- | | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| 1. 8 KÙŠ 20 SI <i>me-lu-u</i> | 8 cubits, 20 fingers, the height |
| 2. šá AN ^e šá ^d A-nu-ni-ṛtú ¹ | of the <i>šamē</i> of Anunītu; |
| 3. 4 KÙŠ a-na mi-iḫ-ri | 4 cubits for (its) front; |
| 4. 6 KÙŠ 20 SI šá UGU | 6 cubits, 20 fingers of |
| 5. AN ḫa-li-li | iron door-frame (?). |

Rev. uninscribed.

L. 5. The sense of l. 5 is unclear. We can read ^d*Ha-li-li*, but such a deity is unknown to me. The other possibility is to read AN.<BAR> *ḥa-li-li*, i.e. an iron *ḥālilu* (see CAD H 42), a type of metalwork strengthening the door on its high side.

The entrance was ca. 4.2m high and 2m wide.

4. The storage of garments

No doubt only a proportion of garments was used at any given time to cover the statues of gods, the beds and tables in the cellas of the deity or to decorate other items during the procession, etc. The rest of the outfits must have been stored in a temple wardrobe. According to BM 91002: 2, the wardrobe was termed *lubbušu* (TÚG.NÍG.MU₄), but this term only occurs in this one text. Linen garments were stored in a horizontal position in baskets, *nakmaru*,⁴²⁵ possibly made of reed.⁴²⁶ The baskets must have been quite large because a single basket could accommodate between 7 and 20 garments.⁴²⁷ According to BM 61364 no less than 42 garments were deposited in three baskets, but obviously many more such baskets were in the temple's wardrobe. In one basket two or three different type of garments were placed; the striking fact is that no one text mentions the woollen garments in the *nakmaru* basket, therefore it is possible that a different method was used for storing woollen items than for linen clothes. Apart from the *nakmaru*-baskets also *šaddu*-chests,⁴²⁸ made of timber, were used for the storage of linen garments. It follows from Nbn 664, according to which Šāpik-zēri collects garments for the *tabū* procession from the *bīt*

⁴²⁵ BM 62259: 2; BM 61364: 2–4; BM 76291: 7; Cyr 265: 1; Cyr 266: 3; Nbn 104: 6; Nbn 146: 5; Nbn 252: 6; Nbn 848: 9.

⁴²⁶ This is suggested in Nbn 660: 2, where the *nakmaru* is preceded by the determinative GI. The baskets ensured permanent ventilation, thus preventing dampness and mouldering of the garments stored in them.

⁴²⁷ Seven linen garments, i.e. one *ḥullānu* and six *salḥus* (Nbn 848: 8–9); 11 linen garments, probably for Gula (BM 76291); 12 linen *salḥus*, among them eight new and four used (Cyr 266); 13 linen used *ḥullānus* (Cyr 265); 14 linen garments, among them one *ḥullānu* (Nbn 660); 18 garments, among them 15 *salḥus*, two bed covers (*kitū ša muḥḥi erši*) and one used *ḥullānu* (Nbn 252); 19 *ḥullānu*, among them five new, in the first basket (BM 61364: 2), 20 new *salḥus* in the second basket (l. 3) and three new *salḥus* in the third basket (l. 4). A number of “open” *salḥus* were deposited in the next, most probably the fourth basket (the repeated *šal-šū* should probably be considered as a mistake for 4-*šū*).

⁴²⁸ See Nbn 1090: 5 (three *kibsus*); Nbn 1121: 10 (3 GADA.MEŠ *ina šad-da*) and ll. 14–15 (1 *kib-su šā* ^d*A-nu-ni-tu*₄ ¹⁵PAP ¹⁴GADA.MEŠ *ina šad-da ina É.ŠU*¹⁵). Note that *šaddu* chests were also used for the deposition of gold and gold articles, see ZAWADZKI, *Eos* 73, pp. 105f.

qāti-storehouse,⁴²⁹ that this storehouse accommodated cultic garments. From some other texts, however, it follows that cultic garments were stored in the *bīt karê*-storehouse, too.⁴³⁰ Without any doubt the storehouses did not play the function of the temple's wardrobe, but were simply the place where the garments were temporarily kept, repaired and cleaned before or after a specific ceremony. Such a conclusion is supported by the fact that part of the *bīt qāti* was a storehouse in which wool destined for the production of cultic garments was stored.⁴³¹ Another place used for the storage of wool destined for the manufacture of garments for the *lubuštu* ceremony was the *bīt šutumme šarri*-storehouse.⁴³² The storehouses accommodated both wool⁴³³ and ordinary TUG.KUR.RA garments.⁴³⁴ From all this we can conclude that the temple storehouses did not specialise in collecting just one kind of a product; each facility consisted of many smaller storehouses ("branches"), which accommodated farm produce (barley, dates, sesame, oil), cattle products (wool and goat hair), craftsmen's tools, etc. It is probable that in the vicinity of some storehouses craftsmen's shops were located which could use raw materials gathered for production purposes; e.g., the texts quoted in n. 431 support the suggestion that the *bīt qāti* could have accommodated dyeing factories.

⁴²⁹ We know also from Nbn 848: 9 that the cultic garments were stored in the *nakmaru*-baskets in the *bīt-qātê*-storehouse. Three texts: Nbn 137: 6–7; BM 64983: 1–2 and CT 56, 310: 5 recognize *bīt qātê* as a part of the gate complex (*bīt qāti ša bābi* (KĀ)).

⁴³⁰ Nbn 848: 6 (concerns garments *ana tabê*).

⁴³¹ Cf. e.g. Nbn 664: 1–2 (1 mina of *tabarru* wool and 2 minas of *takiltu* wool TA É.ŠUⁱⁱ); Nbn 785 (2 minas 20 shekels of wool from the *bīt qāti* for producing 1 mina 12 shekels of *tabarru* wool for the *šibtu* of Anunītu); Nbn 415 (*tabarru* and *takiltu* wool taken from the *bīt qāti* for repair of *tunšānu* and *lubāru* of Anunītu); BM 101301 (*takiltu* wool for *kusītu* of Aya); CT 55, 872 (*takiltu* wool ... *ina* É.ŠUⁱⁱ); CT 55, 874 (10 shekels of *tabarru* wool and 3 shekels of *takiltu* wool TA É.ŠUⁱⁱ).

⁴³² Nbn 754: 5 (1 talent 9 minas for *lubuštu* for the month of Ayaru); Nbn 788: 1 (1 talent for *lubuštu* of Šamaš for the month Araḥsamna).

⁴³³ BM 61252 (wool for oblates taken from *bīt karê*).

⁴³⁴ TUG.KUR.RA delivered to or taken from *bīt karê*: BM 66814; BM 63845 (= Bertin 1493); BM 63956 (= Bertin 1441); BM 73306. TUG.KUR.RA in *bīt qāti*: BM 60783; BM 64983; Nbn 290. Note, however, that not all the TUG.KUR.RA garments were in fact ordinary, see BM 59621, according to which half a mina of *takiltu* wool was used for manufacturing "TUG.KUR.RA for the symbol of god, (i.e.) TUG.KUR.RA of Šamaš, half mina for TUG.KUR.RA of Šamaš and 6 shekels for the TUG.KUR.RA of Bunene" (ll. 2–6).

VI. REGULATIONS FROM THE TIMES OF NABÛ-APAL-IDDINA: THE STONE TABLET OF ŠAMAŠ IN ITS ARCHEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

1. BM 91002: When and why the copy was made

Providing the gods with the proper attire was such an important matter that it fell within the ruler's sphere of interest. The oldest document from Sippar, including data concerning cultic garments⁴³⁵, is dated to the time of Nabû-apal-iddina (ninth century B.C.).⁴³⁶ The king granted some garments, used as the sacred garments of Šamaš, Aya and Bunene, to the temple administrator (*šangû*) and seer (*barû*) of the Ebabbar temple as a reward for the discovery of the terracotta model of the statue of Šamaš. The importance of the discovery was great because the destruction of the Šamaš statue by the Suteans in the eleventh century B.C. brought about the suspension of his cult. A long search for the statue (the new one had to correspond exactly to the old one) had been fruitless and for maintaining some form of cult the sun disc – the symbol of Šamaš – was introduced into the temple. Only at the time of Nabû-apal-iddina, when Nabû-nādin-šumi, the temple administrator supposedly found a drawing of the statue with all its ornaments and insignia, was a reconstruction of the statue possible.⁴³⁷ According to the recent interpretations of Seidl⁴³⁸ and Slanski,⁴³⁹ the relief on the upper part of the obverse commemorated the removing of the sun disc (*niphu*) when, after a fortunate accident, the clay model of Šamaš's statue was discovered by the priest at the time of Nabû-apal-iddina's reign. The

⁴³⁵ BM 91000 (BBSt 36), see KING, BBSt, Pl. XCVIII and Pl. C. For new translations and transliterations with extensive commentaries, see SLANSKI, *Babylonian Entitlement*, pp. 198–221; HUROWITZ 2000 (translation only) and HUROWITZ 2002; WALKER and DICK 2001, pp. 22–24 (translation of col. III 19–IV 28). Doubts that had been raised earlier as to whether it is a forgery (GELB, *JNES* 8 (1949) 348, n. 12) were discarded by BRINKMAN, see PKB, pp. 189–190, n. 1159.

⁴³⁶ On his reign, spanning not less than 33 years, see BRINKMAN, PKB, pp. 182–192 (contemporary to Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III).

⁴³⁷ Cf. LAMBERT, *AfO* 18 (1957/58) 398, who described this happy discovery of the priest as “pious fraud”, accepted by POWELL 1991, p. 30, but rejected by SEIDL 1991, p. 130.

⁴³⁸ SEIDL 2001, p. 130: “Möglicherweise ist der Moment gezeigt, als er [the first adorant] dem Sonnengott ‘seinen Wohnsitz richtete’, indem er das ältere Symbol mitsamt der Säulenkonstruktion beiseite schiebt und den Blick auf das wiedererstandende Bild des Šamaš freigibt.”

⁴³⁹ SLANSKI, *Babylonian Entitlement*, p. 220 and earlier SLANSKI 2000, pp. 111–112.

model was a basis for replacing Šamaš' statue in his human shape, as seen on the right side of the relief. The text lists in its final part (col. V 39–col. VI 13) some clothes of Šamaš, Aya and Bunene (*qarbītu*, *šeri'ītu*, *hullānu*, *nēbehu*, *lubār tabarru*, *lubār takiltu*, *qarbat rabītu*), granted now to the *šangū*. In the following lines the text mentions six days in a year when these gods were to be presented with *šeri'ītu* or *qarībtu* garments. The *šeri'ītu* was given on 7.I, 10.II and 15.VIII, while *qarbtu* was supplied on 3.VI, 7.VII and 15.XII.

Another frequently discussed document is BM 91002, with the imprint of the relief from BM 91000 on its front side and an inscription enumerating garments for Šamaš for six *lubuštu* ceremonies on its reverse. Its closing section states that the document is a copy of an earlier one: ¹⁸*gaba-ri a-su-ú-mi-it*⁴⁴⁰ *šá*^dUTU EN UD.KIB.NUN.KI ¹⁹*šá*^{md}AG-IBILA-¹X¹ LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI, “copy of the *asumittu*-stone tablet of Šamaš, the lord of Sippar, (from the time) of Nabû-apal-¹X¹, king of Babylon.”⁴⁴¹ Questionable is the reading of the final element of the ruler's name marked here as ¹X¹. L. W. King⁴⁴² and S. Langdon⁴⁴³ transliterated the name as Nabû-apal-ušur (Nabopolassar); according to Bongenaar the sign is so illegible that it is impossible to determine whether it should be read MU (i.e. Nabû-apal-iddin) or ŠEŠ (i.e. Nabû-apal-ušur).⁴⁴⁴ Yet another possibility – reading

⁴⁴⁰ LANGDON, VAB IV, p. 70 mistakenly reads *tum*.

⁴⁴¹ Note that my translation differs from the translations offered by KING, BBSt, p. 127 (“Impression of the bas-relief of Shamash, lord of Sippar”), LANGDON, VAB IV, p. 71 (“Abschrift der Steintafel des Šamaš, des Herren von Sippar”), CAD G 3 (“squeeze of the stone tablet with the relief belonging to Šamaš”), CAD A/II, p. 348 (“cast of the stone tablet with relief belonging to Šamaš”), which suggest that the sentence concerns the copy of the relief presented on the obverse and not the text copied on the reverse. However, it would be the only instance where *gabarû* denoted not the copy of text of the tablet, but the squeeze of the relief. Additionally, because the sentence is added to the reverse (it continues line 18 of the text), i.e. it is not isolated from the basic text, it seems to me that it must be connected with this text, and not with the relief on the opposite side. Would there be any sense in stressing the time of making the squeeze of the relief, seen on the Stone Tablet included in the same box? According to my understanding the copyist wished to inform the reader that the regulation concerning the garments of Šamaš was copied from the *asumittu*-stone tablet from the original dated to the time of Nabû-apal-iddinna, i.e. *asumittu* is not the name of the Stone Tablet. Obviously, the use of the same type of stone for both texts (i. e. the Stone Tablet and the tablet with regulations concerning the garments for Šamaš) is not excluded. Such an important regulation deserves to be written on a tablet made of quite a precious stone. Note that the only basis for an ascription of BM 91002 to the time of the founder of the Neo-Babylonian Empire is the reading of the name as Nabû-apal-¹ušur¹ (‘ŠEŠ’)], which is highly doubtful (see below).

⁴⁴² BBSt, p. 121.

⁴⁴³ VAB IV, p. 70.

⁴⁴⁴ BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 305, n. 274, holds the view that the sign is written over an erasure.

SUM (iddina) – was suggested by E. Matsushima.⁴⁴⁵ An unequivocal solution is difficult as it seems that the sign is written over an erasure; however, several experienced specialists opt for the reading MU.⁴⁴⁶ A likely answer could arise if we ask ourselves what kind of mistake is possible in the writing of the king's name in such a place. It seems that an intelligible mistake would be to write the name of the king actually ruling, instead of the name of the king who promulgated the document a few centuries earlier.⁴⁴⁷ From the third tablet, BM 91001, a photo of only one side was published. The lack of any information about the other side of the tablet has usually been understood as indicating that it was left blank, which is untrue (see below).

All three above-mentioned tablets were found together in a box or coffer at Sippar in 1881 during excavation supervised by Hormuzd Rassam.⁴⁴⁸ The circumstances of the discovery of the box are, however, far from clear. There are two different accounts, both coming from Rassam. The first account is known from his letter to Henry Layard, written in Abu Habba (Sippar) on the 20th of February 1881.⁴⁴⁹ Rassam informs Layard that the box (with the Stone Tablet and two squeezes of its relief inside the box) was discovered in the bitumen pavement in the same room where above the so-called Cruciform Monument and two barrel-shaped cylinders of Nabonidus, placed in the brick casing, were found. However, in his book published in 1897, Rassam states that the Cruciform Monument and two cylinders of Nabonidus were found “in a room adjoining the one in which the tablet [i.e. the Stone Tablet] was discovered.”⁴⁵⁰ Additionally, the letters discussed by Reade suggest that the box with the Stone Tablet of Šamaš and the Cruciform Monument and cylinders of Nabonidus were discovered at different times, because the Cruciform Monument and cylinders of Nabonidus are mentioned already in a letter dated 8th February, while the Stone Tablet occurs only in a letter of 28th February.⁴⁵¹

The trouble with the precise establishment of the discovery of the Stone Tablet and the Cruciform Monument might be explained by the fact that at

⁴⁴⁵ MATSUSHIMA 1993, p. 213, n. 15, however with the traditional translation: “a copy of the stela of Šamaš, the lord of Sippar, made by Nabopolassar, the king of Babylon.”

⁴⁴⁶ JOANNÈS, *NABU* 1991, no. 113, p. 85 (based only on the photo in King's edition) accepted by JONKER 1995, p. 165, n. 40. Such an opinion was expressed by I. Finkel, M. Jursa and C. Walker during my study of the text in the British Museum in August 1998 and again in 2004.

⁴⁴⁷ A different possibility is that the scribe forgot to write the third element of the king's name, and when he noted his error he wrote the exact sign over LUGAL. My collation of the text makes such a solution of the question plausible.

⁴⁴⁸ Concerning the place of its discovery, see WALKER and COLLON 1980, pp. 32–33 (near the main cella of Šamaš, Plan 3–B, Room 170).

⁴⁴⁹ Cited by SOLLBERGER, *JEOL* 1968, p. 53.

⁴⁵⁰ RASSAM 1897, p. 402, cited also by SOLLBERGER, *JEOL* 1968, p. 52.

⁴⁵¹ It means that the Stone Tablet was probably found after 8th but before 20th February 1881.

the same time excavations were being conducted in several important centres.⁴⁵² Formally Rassam supervised the excavations in all these places, but real responsibility for the fieldwork fell upon his agents. The letters do not contain any more precise information; other papers of Rassam, written probably in Arabic and held in his house in Iraq, were destroyed during the burning of the house or by damp in 1950.⁴⁵³ Probably there is no chance of finding out why Rassam changed his report concerning the circumstances of the discovery of the clay box, but the most plausible explanation is that more precise information reached him some time after he had sent the letter addressed to Layard.

The obscurity concerning the archaeological context of the Stone Tablet has had some influence on the scholarly interpretation of the monument; as a result, different opinions and interpretations concerning the Stone Tablet, the circumstances under which its squeezes were produced, and the reason for their placement in the temple have been presented. Already King connected the placing of the Stone Tablet in the clay coffer with king Nabopolassar, and commented: "It has been assumed that the clay impressions of the sculptured scene were intended to protect the latter from injury. But it appears far more probable that Nabopolassar placed them in the coffer to enable some future ruler, in case the tablet should be broken, to restore the scene."⁴⁵⁴ The function of coverings for squeezes is highly improbable, as on one of the tablets the copy of the other important text is written, which also had to be protected from injury. Also, in the opinion of Van Buren, "The clay copies [of the relief – S.Z.] ... were made at the order of Nabopolassar, and to him the whole arrangement of the foundation deposit is due. It is a proof of the reverence with which he treated his predecessor's tokens..."⁴⁵⁵ A similar opinion was expressed by Parrot, who recognised in the Stone Tablet "[la] tavoletta di fondazione raccolta a Sippar, con la quale il re Nabû-apal-iddin commemora la costruzione del tempio di Samaš."⁴⁵⁶ Serious arguments against such interpretations were put forward by Rashid, who stressed (among others) that the context and style of the Stone Tablet has nothing in common with the Mesopotamian building inscriptions and foundation deposits of any period.⁴⁵⁷ One of his important arguments against such an interpretation is that the Stone Tablet does not concern a building or rebuilding of the temple at all.⁴⁵⁸ Although Rashid

⁴⁵² See Reade in the Introduction to LEICHTY, Sippar 1, pp. xxiiff.

⁴⁵³ Reade, p. XIV.

⁴⁵⁴ KING, BBSt, p. 120, n. 1. Note that in the legends to the photos of the squeezes they are described as "coverings."

⁴⁵⁵ VAN BUREN 1931, p. 62.

⁴⁵⁶ PARROT 1961, p. 168.

⁴⁵⁷ RASHID, p. 305.

⁴⁵⁸ The opinion that "Der König Nabopolassar (625–605 v. Chr.) fand die reliefierte Steintafel des Nabûaplaiddina und erliess eine neue Verordnung über die Gewandung des

refuted convincingly the possibility of recognising the Stone Tablet as a *Gründungsurkunde* or as foundation deposit, he thought that it was placed in the box because “die Könige von ihren Nachfolgern die Wiederbeisetzung ihrer Gründungsurkunden verlangten. Dieser Wunsch bleibt nicht nur auf die Gründungsurkunden beschränkt, sondern betrifft auch andere Denkmäler.” As a result, the placing of the Stone Tablet in the box – in his opinion by Nabopolassar – “handelt es sich lediglich um eine Beisetzung aus Pietät.”⁴⁵⁹ Such an interpretation does not, however, explain why the two squeezes were produced and placed in the box.

Sollberger and Marvin Powell discussed the question of the Stone Tablet also, although their attention was focused on the Cruciform Tablet. Sollberger, who cited the opinions of Rassam concerning the circumstances of discovery of the Stone Tablet and Cruciform Monument, opted for the earlier account as “more reliable.”⁴⁶⁰ Marvin Powell accepted Sollberger’s idea that the Cruciform Tablet is a Neo-Babylonian forgery and connected it with the rebuilding of the Šamaš temple by Nabonidus. In his opinion all the objects discussed above were hidden at the same time, and because among them there were two cylinders of Nabonidus “they must be finally deposited at the time that the restoration of Ebabbar under Nabonidus took place. It cannot be earlier than Nabonidus and, since Nabonidus became a *bête noire* after the victory of Cyrus, they are not likely to have been deposited later.”⁴⁶¹

Powell’s idea that the Cruciform Monument is a forgery made at the time of Nabonidus to persuade the king to endow the Ebabbar temple with a new donation is fully convincing. It is also possible that the document was placed together with the two-barrel cylinders of Nabonidus as a part of the “foundation deposit” commemorating the commencement of the restoration of the temple by Nabonidus. However, as was already argued by Rashid (not cited by Powell) it is hardly possible to treat the Stone Tablet

Gottes Šamaš, die er viel kostbarer gestaltete” (p. 306 in his article) is, however, groundless. The inscription on the reverse of BM 91002 includes the copy from the original tablet, most probably from the time of Nabû-apal-iddina, not a new regulation. Also the argument that the Stone Tablet cannot be recognised as the “Gründungsurkunde” because the word *asumittu* and not *temenu* is used for the description of the Stone Tablet is also in my opinion invalid, see below.

⁴⁵⁹ RASHID, p. 308 and 309.

⁴⁶⁰ SOLLBERGER 1968, p. 52, i.e. contrary to HILPRECHT 1903, pp. 269–272 and p. 292 (describing in detail the discovery of the box with Stone Tablet and two squeezes) and p. 272, where we read: “In a room adjoining to the one just described, the fortunate explorer found two large barrel cylinders of Nabonidus in a fine state of preservation, and a “curiously hewn stone symbol ending on the top in the shape of a cross,” and “inscribed with archaic characters.”

⁴⁶¹ POWELL 1991, p. 21. Probably based on Powell’s idea, HUROWITZ 2000, pp. 364–365, expressed the evidently mistaken opinion that the Stone Tablet “was discovered in a clay box containing impressions of inscriptions of Nabonidus (555–539 B.C.).”

in a similar way. Additionally, it should be stressed that it was not the Mesopotamian tradition to place in the “foundation deposit” the original tablet and its (partial) squeezes. The tablets destined to be *Gründungs-urkunde* or foundation deposits were carefully prepared and belong to the most beautifully written texts made on materials of good quality. It is beyond any doubt that the squeezes were prepared in a great hurry. Looking at them we are struck by their poor quality. To make the tablets clay of low quality was used, their surfaces are rough and uneven. There is clear evidence that the text concerning the *lubuštu* ceremony, written on the back of BM 91002, was copied without due diligence. In the section listing clothes for 7th Nisannu the *mēzeḫu* appears first in l. 5 and again in l. 8. In l. 5 the plural marker is missing after 7 TUG.NÍG.ÍB.LÁ and in l. 6 we would expect to find the suffix KILAL-<šú-nu> “their weight.” It is difficult to guess the meaning of AM at the end of line 6 and at the beginning of line 11, and in the last line the third element of the king’s name is evidently written over an erasure and is difficult to identify. The poor quality of the tablet itself and the mistakes in its contents are more evident if we compare it with the copies of many economic texts, which are usually written carefully and with neat wedges. Additionally, we expect that the tablet including the king’s order on which the cultic practice was based would be baked, but in fact it is only sun-dried. Still worse is the quality of BM 91001. On the published side of the tablet, of which the upper right part is now missing, we see the copy of the relief, not bad, but worse than the copy on tablet BM 91002. The most surprising thing is the other side of the tablet, where an earlier effort to produce an imprint of the relief is recognisable. The ancient scribe covered it with a lump of clay, now missing on the left side, where the shape of a head is seen. The only possible explanation is that when the scribe noted the poor quality of the imprint he covered it with the lump of clay and made a new imprint on the other side of the tablet. The usual behaviour of a scribe in such a situation would be to discard the tablet and make a new one. The re-use of the tablet supports the idea that he was working in a great hurry. Being dissatisfied but without the possibility of writing the text concerning the regulation of garments for Šamaš on the other side, the scribe made a second, more satisfactory effort, the result of which is BM 91002. The circumstances of the making of the imprints exclude their preparation during the renovation of the temple at the time of Nabonidus. Powell, who suggests that on that occasion the imprints made at the time of Nabopolassar were placed in the box, did not try to explain the motivation for such a strange decision.

The reason for hiding the tablets is explained in a most convincing way by short inscriptions written five times upside-down on the front, back and right side of the terracotta box, and additionally “once inside the box under

the lip of the left side”:⁴⁶² *ša-lam* ^dUTU EN UD.KIB.NUN.KI *a-ši-bi É-babbar-ra*, “the image of Šamaš, lord of Sippar, who dwells in the Ebabbar temple.”⁴⁶³ It is evident that the box was hidden because the danger that the statue of Šamaš might be destroyed was recognised as a real possibility. The squeezes BM 91001 and BM 91002 comprise two of the most important elements guaranteeing the continuity of the cult of Šamaš after any disaster which might occur, i.e. an impression of Šamaš’s statue⁴⁶⁴ and the legal act regulating one of the most important ceremonies in the cultic calendar of the city of Sippar. Now, the reason for composing the tablet seems clear: the temple authorities were very much afraid that the situation, when in the ninth century B.C. the Suteans had destroyed the statues of Šamaš, could recur. The responsible temple authorities made the only correct decision, to produce copies of the most important documents and images, which would enable the restoration of the cult and make possible the revival of Šamaš in his new statue based on the old design.⁴⁶⁵

Knowing the reason for hiding the box one might enquire now about the situation which provoked such a decision. The form of the signs in the text written on the reverse of BM 91002, and the fact that the box was found in a stratum with many Neo-Babylonian tablets, make it possible to limit our search to seventh and sixth centuries B.C.⁴⁶⁶ We exclude the idea of Powell, who tried to connect the box with the commencement of the rebuilding of the Ebabbar temple at the time of Nabonidus.⁴⁶⁷ It seems to me even less likely that the box was hidden before the expected attack the Persians in 539 B.C. In the Cyrus Cylinder – although it was composed after the conquest of Babylonia – the Persian king describes himself as the person chosen by Marduk,⁴⁶⁸ who gave him the throne of Babylonia to protect the

⁴⁶² The inscription inside the box was discovered only by Christopher Walker many years later, see WALKER and COLLON 1980, p. 103.

⁴⁶³ See KING, BBSt, Pl. CI and C II (the inscriptions on the front and on the right side of the box written upside down in two lines). The inscription on the back differs slightly from the front and right side inscriptions. First it is written only in one line. Its starts typically, i.e. *ša-lam* ^dUTU EN UD.KIB.NUN.KI, but stops at this place and after a blank place of ca. 3.5 cm a full version is given, i.e. *ša-lam* ^dUTU EN UD.KIB.NUN.KI *a-ši-bi É-babbar-ra* (with the last sign on the corner).

⁴⁶⁴ Stressed additionally by the repetition of the short inscription on three sides of the box and once inside the box.

⁴⁶⁵ Concerning the ritual of producing new statues, see WALKER and DICK 2001, p. 6ff. and HUROWITZ 2003.

⁴⁶⁶ For the above reasons I cannot accept the idea expressed by Charpin (2002, pp. 189–190) that the box was hidden already in the ninth century B.C.

⁴⁶⁷ The Ebabbar temple was rebuilt in the second year of Nabonidus. Later, in the 10th year, the rebuilding of the *Ziqqurat* took place.

⁴⁶⁸ Concerning the idea that the idiom “his small servant” describes Cyrus as “the servant” of Marduk and not the servant of Astyages, the last king of Median Empire, see ROLLINGER 1994, pp. 129–134. For different opinion, see KRATZ 2002, p. 148 and n. 17.

temple against the sacrilegious acts of Nabonidus. It seems probable that the priests were aware of the anti-Nabonidus propaganda of Cyrus declaring the protection of the Babylonian temples.⁴⁶⁹ Moreover, no pillage or robbery can be prescribed to the Persian army, neither during the fight in Babylonia nor later after the whole country was conquered. On the contrary, the Nabonidus-Cyrus Chronicle stresses that Persian soldiers encircled the Esagila temple to protect it from intruders. The hiding of the box from the Persians seems therefore very unlikely. We have to exclude also any external and internal danger in the period following the release of the country from the Assyrians. In seeking a situation when the authorities of the Ebabbar temple might fear the looting of the city and the temple, we have to go back to the period when the struggle with the Assyrians resulted in full independence of the country, in the period between 623 and 617 B.C.⁴⁷⁰ The fate of city of Šasnaku in 626 B.C. demonstrates that this danger was real. A few months earlier the Assyrians experienced a major defeat – the Assyrian garrison was removed from the Babylon. A few months later the approaching Assyrian army decided to force the submission of the Babylonians by brutal terror. Reaching Šasnaku, probably the first important city on their way to Babylonia, they plundered and looted the temple, including most probably its most precious objects: the gods' statues made of gold, silver, lapis lazuli and other precious materials.⁴⁷¹ This is suggested additionally by the reaction of the authorities of the city of Kiš, who, in the face of Assyrian danger, decided to send their gods to the capital city.⁴⁷²

The preserved Babylonian chronicle does not mention any real danger for the city of Sippar in that year. Most interesting from this point of view is the relation of the chronicle concerning the following year, 625 B.C.:

¹⁸MU.1.KÁM ^{md}AG-AxA-ÛRU ITI.BÁR U₄.17.KÁM *ḥat-ti ana*
 URU ŠUB^{ur} ^{19d}UTU *u* DINGIR.ME *šá* ^{uru}*Šá-pa-az-zu a-na*
 TIN.TIR.KI *it-tal-ku-ni* ²⁰ITI.GU₄ UD.21.KÁM ERÍN.ME ^{kur}*Aš-*
šur a-na ^{ruru}*Šal¹-[lat i-t]er-bu* NÍG.GA TA URU GIN^{me}
²¹UD.20.KÁM DINGIR.ME *šá* UD.KIB.NUN.KI *ana* TIN.TIR.KI
it-tal-k[u-nim-ma]

⁴⁶⁹ GRAYSON, ABC, p. 110, ll. 16–18.

⁴⁷⁰ Concerning the new proposal of the chronology of the period, see OELSNER 1999.

⁴⁷¹ Concerning the material used for manufacturing the god's statue, see GEORGE 1997, p. 65f.

⁴⁷² ⁴*ina* ITI.KIN U₄.12.KÁM ERÍN ^{kur}*Aš-šur* ⁵[.....] ^{uru}*Šá-as-na-ku* KU₄.MEŠ IZI *ina É-kur* ŠUB^{me} ⁶[.....] *ù ina* ITI.DU₆ DINGIR^{me} *šá Kiš^{ki} ana* TIN.TIR.KI GIN^{me}, “On the 12th day of the month Elul the army of Assyria [...] entered Shasnaku and set fire to the temple [...] and in the month of Tishri the gods of Kish went to Babylon”, see GRAYSON, ABC (Chronicle 2), p. 88. For the copy of the tablet, see WISEMAN, CCK, Pl. VII.

“The first year of Nabopolassar: On the 17th day of the month Nisan panic overcame the city. ¹⁹Shamash and the gods of Šapazzu went to Babylon. ²⁰On the 21st day of the month Iyyar the army of Assyria entered Sal[lat] (and) carried off the booty. ²¹On the twentieth day the gods of Sippar we[nt] to Babylon.”⁴⁷³

The reaction of the authorities of Šapazzu and Sippar has to be considered in the light of the brutal firing and sacking of the city of Šasnaku in the previous year. When in the following year the news about the advancing Assyrian army reached Šapazzu, the decision was made to evacuate the city gods to Babylon. The expression “Šamaš and the gods of Šapazzu went to Babylon” is interpreted by scholars as the evidence that Šamaš was the head of pantheon of that city or at least that he was worshipped there and played an important role.⁴⁷⁴ However, such an interpretation is highly doubtful. It should be noted that, when the Neo-Babylonian chroniclers spoke about the gods of a particular city they used the expression “the gods of the city x” (the name of the city),⁴⁷⁵ or “the (city) god of the city x and the gods of the city x”⁴⁷⁶ and never – except for in the passage cited above – the expression “Zababa and the gods of Kiš” or “Šamaš and the gods of Sippar.” Although exceptional, the expression “Šamaš and the gods of Šapazzu” would be acceptable if Šamaš were the supreme god of that city, but this must be excluded. In Šapazzu, better known under its older name Baš,⁴⁷⁷ the position of sovereign belonged to Bēl-šarbi (dLUGAL.GIŠ.ĀSAL), “the god of the poplar tree,” worshipped in his temple é.dúr.gi.na (“House, Established Abode”).⁴⁷⁸ If the chronicler had wanted to express that all the gods of Šapazzu, including the supreme god, went to Babylon, the expression ought to be “Bēl-šarbi and the gods of Šapazzu.” For a

⁴⁷³ GRAYSON, ABC, pp. 88–89. For the copy of the tablet, see Wiseman, CCK, Pl. VII–VIII.

⁴⁷⁴ CCK, p. 9: “First Šamaš and other deities from the temple of the city of Šapazzu were brought into Babylon.” Similarly GRAYSON, ABC, p. 18: “There was panic in Babylon (no reason is given) and the gods of Šapazzu were brought to Babylon,” followed by information about the gods of Sippar. For another opinion concerning the “panic in the city”, see ZAWADZKI 1989, p. 58, n. 5. The only scholar who suggested that the panic overcame the city of Sippar was Na’aman, see NA’AMAN 1991, p. 260, erroneously refuted by me in ZA 84, p. 72. Probably already Na’aman (if I understand him properly) recognised in Šamaš mentioned in l. 19 of the Chronicle Šamaš of Sippar, but without compelling arguments. It seems to me that the arguments given below make it possible to elevate this idea from a probability to a certainty.

⁴⁷⁵ See GRAYSON, ABC, p. 79 and p. 81 (Chronicle 1, col. III 1 and 29): DINGIR.MEŠ šá UNUG.KI; p. 88 (Chronicle 2, l. 6): DINGIR.ME šá Kiš^{ki}, and, cited above, DINGIR.ME šá UD.KIB.NUN.KI.

⁴⁷⁶ See GRAYSON, ABC, p. 84: dIštar (MÜŠ) ʾA¹-ga-de^{ki} u DINGIR.MEŠ šá A-ga-de^{ki}.

⁴⁷⁷ Concerning the identity of Šapazzu with Baš, the city known already in the Old-Babylonian period, see the note in ZADOK, RGTC 8, pp. 70–72 and pp. 202–204, where the question of identity of Baš with LAM.KUR.RU^{ki} is discussed.

⁴⁷⁸ GEORGE, *House Most High*, p. 80.

proper understanding the expression should be analyzed in the broad context of the entire account concerning the events of the first year of Nabopolassar's reign. The most important thing is to recognize which city was in a panic. As I argued earlier,⁴⁷⁹ there is no reason to believe that the chronicler had in mind panic in Babylon. First, the Assyrian army was, at the beginning of its campaign against Babylonia, still many days from the capital city. Second, panic in Babylon is improbable after the success of the Babylonians who, in the previous year, were able to expel the Assyrian garrison and give freedom to the city. It is obvious that the unwise decision of the Assyrians to loot and fire the temple in Šasnaku had a great influence on the authorities of other cities menaced by the Assyrian attack. The decision of the authorities of the city of Šapazzu to evacuate the gods to Babylon was caused by fear that the Assyrian army might behave in a similar way in their own city. When the retinue of the citizens of Šapazzu with their gods reached Sippar⁴⁸⁰ on their way to Babylon, panic overcame the city, and a decision was made to send Šamaš together with the gods of Šapazzu. In order to avoid the situation caused by Suteans, a few centuries before, during the next few days the temple's authorities made attempts to guard the most important deeds for the future re-establishment the cult in case the Assyrian army should conquer and sack the city and its temple. These circumstances explain the poor quality of BM 91002 and BM 91001. Probably more imprints of the relief of the Stone Tablet were produced and hidden, among them most probably the original tablet establishing the regulation concerning the garments which should be prepared for Šamaš for the *lubuštu* ceremony, so badly copied on the reverse of BM 91002. All these measures were taken during a few days following 17th Nisannu, when Šamaš was sent to Babylon. Happily, the feared scenario did not take place and no looting of the Ebabbar temple by Assyrian troops is known.⁴⁸¹ The

⁴⁷⁹ ZAWADZKI 1989 and ZAWADZKI 1994.

⁴⁸⁰ The visit to Sippar is the more probable because, in light of a few texts there were long connections between city Šapazzu and the Ebabbar temple. It appears from CT 56, 605, written on 7th Ulūlu Nbn 2, that one kur of barley was given to ^{lu}UŠ.BAR šá ^{EN-šar-bi}, obviously a city god of Baš/Šapazzu. According to Nbn 104, dated to the third year of Nabonidus, two out of three linen *salhus* taken from the *nakmaru*-basket were sent to LAMxKUR.RU^{ki}, while one was used as a cover for the *bīt agī*, i.e. a container for the crown of Šarrat Sippar. Probably also *salhus* sent to Baš/Šapazzu were destined for the city god(s). In the fourteenth year of Nabonidus a few iron shears for the shearing were destined for of Bēl-šarbi (^dLUGAL-A.TU.GAB.LIŠ). According to CT 56, 10, written in the fifth year of Cambyses two linen *šiddu* were sent to Baš (LAMxKUR.RU.KI) to be used as curtain (*gidlū*) of Bēl-šarbi (^dLUGAL-A.TU.GAB.LIŠ). Note that (BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 381 suggest to read 'kuš') instead of 'GADA'. It seems that, just as in Uruk (see BEAULIEU 1991, BEAULIEU 1992, p. 402 and BEAULIEU 1993), smaller centres in the vicinity of Sippar were under the protection of the Ebabbar temple. See also MACGINNIS 1997 and below, p. 183.

⁴⁸¹ The fate of Sippar at that time is not clear and opinion depends on scholarly interpretation of the preserved data, however, the idea of Na'aman (NA'AMAN 1991, p. 261) that

Assyrians were unable to undertake a successful offensive; a month later they advanced to the city of Sallat, north of Sippar, and after some time they conquered it on the 21st day of the month Ayaru. Only a day earlier the authorities of Sippar, conscious that their own city might be a target of the Assyrian army, had sent their gods to the capital.

The final conclusion of the above discussion is to some degree surprising. Although the squeezes were made at the time of Nabopolassar to be hidden together with the Stone Tablet in the box because of the Assyrian danger, the decision was made exclusively by the local authorities of the Ebabbar temple, just as earlier such decisions were made by the authorities of Kiš and Baš/Šapazzu. At this crucial moment the Babylonian king was trying to resolve the more serious problem of stopping the intrusion of the Assyrian army into his country. It seems to me that the king not only did not make a decision concerning the box, but simply did not know about the previous preparation of the squeezes, the copying of the other old tablet concerning Šamaš's garments and their concealment. There are also no serious arguments to support the idea that Nabonidus replaced the box at the time of his renovation of the Ebabbar temple. Although all the objects might have been found at the same room, they comprise two separate caches.

2. BM 91002: Comparison of its content with texts from the seventh to the fifth centuries B.C.

Knowing the regulation of Nabû-apal-iddina concerning Šamaš's garments for the *lubuštu* ceremony, a question arises whether, or to what degree the norms established more than two centuries previously were recognised as obligatory. To clarify our explanation we classify the clothes which the king established for Šamaš for the months of Nisannu, Ayaru and Araḥsamna as set A, and the garments for Ulūlu, Tašrītu and Addaru as set B. The catalogue looks as follows (the lack of a garment is marked "0"):

the account "constitutes remarkable tendentiousness of the chronicler who had concealed the fact that Sippar was captured by the Assyrians, recording only that the gods of Sippar, most prominent of which was Šamaš, were brought to Babylon in fear of the impending Assyrian attack" is for me difficult to accept. Concerning the different chronological proposals, see also GEBER 1988, BEAULIEU 1997 and OELSNER 1997.

	A 7 th Nisannu, 10 th Ayaru, 3 th Ulūlu; 15 th Araḥsamna	B 7 th Tašrītu, 15 th Addaru
GADA <i>salḫu</i>	2	2
linen <i>šibtu</i> weighing 40 minas	4	3
GADA <i>ḫullānu</i>	1	1
GADA <i>mēzeḫu</i>	1	1
<i>ḫuṣannu</i>	7 (weighing 70 shekels)	6 (weight not specified)
<i>nēbeḫu</i> (TÚG.ÍB.LÁ)	1	0
red TÚG.MURUB ₄ .ÍB.LÁ	1	1
<i>lubāru</i> (TÚG.UD.A)	1 (weighing 20 minas)	1 (weight not specified)
<i>lubār</i> (TÚG.UD.A) <i>zi-qu</i>	1	0
GADA <i>mēzeḫu</i>	1	1
<i>kulūlu</i> made of red wool	1	0
<i>kulūlu</i> with golden ornament	1	0
<i>lubāru</i> (TÚG.UD.A) made of blue-purple wool with golden ornament in the shape of a gate	1	
<i>muttatu</i> -headdress made of red and blue-purple wool twined with byssos threads.	1	

In the hundreds of Neo-Babylonian texts from Sippar, the *mēzeḫu* garment never appears, neither in the lists of finished clothes nor in the texts dealing with their production or repair.⁴⁸² Among the garments for Šamaš BM 91002 does not mention *guḫaṣṣu*, which is known already from the texts dated in Nabopolassar's reign and belongs to the permanent repertory of garments listed in the *miḫṣu tenū* texts. According to BM 91002, Šamaš was to receive a *lubār ziqqu* (the garment with *ziqqu* ornament) only in Nisannu, Ayaru and Araḥsamna, while according to VS 6, 15, Šamaš, and perhaps Aya and Bunene as well, received it in the month of Ulūlu. The number of *šibtu*, four in the first and three in the second cycle, is also significantly different from the numbers known from many texts dated in the period from Nabopolassar until Darius, where there are respectively two and one *šibtu* for the *lubuštu* ceremony in each cycle. BM 91002 mentions a TÚG.UD.A or TÚG.BABBAR.A garment, an ideogram, which in the

⁴⁸² Concerning the data from Uruk and Babylon, see above, n. 270.

texts from the Ebabbar archives was replaced by TÚG.ĪI.A as well as TÚG.BABBAR.ĪI.A.⁴⁸³ In BM 91002, among the clothes for the god Šamaš, appears 1 TÚG.UD.A *zi-qu*⁴⁸⁴ and 1 TUG.UD.A *takiltu* (l. 7, 8, 10). The latter, however, does not appear in the *dullu pešû* lists or in other texts from the Ebabbar archives; in this case the imprecise qualification (“blue-purple garment”) makes its identification difficult. The norm, shown in BM 91002, of 7 *hušannus* weighing one mina 10 shekels for Šamaš in the first cycle and 6 *hušannus* (weighing one mina) in the second cycle finds multiple confirmation. BM 91002 enumerates *kulûlu* bands only for the first cycle, which is also confirmed in the texts from the Ebabbar archives. Texts from the seventh to the fifth centuries B.C. mention another three caps or bands for Šamaš’s head which are absent in BM 91002, i.e. *mētu*, *erru*, *mē qaqqadi*; it is interesting that all these attestations indicate that Šamaš received these headdresses only in the first cycle. Also *mutattu*, according to Nabopolassar’s copy, appears only in the second cycle.

The comparison of BM 91002 with the texts depicting everyday practice leads to an obvious conclusion: despite the clear correlation of BM 91002 with the clothing actually assigned to Šamaš in the Neo- and Late-Babylonian periods, the everyday practice was slightly different from the norm suggested by BM 91002. Irrespective of when the text was copied, it is clear that the statements it included were never fully observed in the Neo- and Late-Babylonian period. However, as we observed above, in the early texts dated to the time of Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar the weight of at least the *šibtu* of Šamaš and Bunene differed from text to text. These circumstances suggest that the decision to fix the weight of each item of clothing for Šamaš was taken no earlier than the end of Nebuchadnezzar’s first decade on the throne.

⁴⁸³ 1 TÚG.ĪI.A in BM 91002 makes it clear that ĪI.A is not a plural marker but an element of the logogram.

⁴⁸⁴ On this garment, see above.

VII. GARMENTS AND THE CULT

1. The change of garments during the *lubuštu* ceremony and the question of the cultic calendar at Sippar during the ninth century B.C.

Matsushima pointed out that the change of garments took place during the three consecutive months “from the end of the winter (Addaru to Ayaru) and in another three consecutive months from the end of summer to autumn (Ulūlu to Araḥsamna)”⁴⁸⁵ and suggested that the *lubuštu* ceremony “had something to do with the *akītu* festivals”, which were to take place not only at the beginning of the new year but also in early autumn. In her opinion, changing the clothes might be related to the customs of Mesopotamian people who changed their clothes when the cold season changed to warm and vice versa. This idea should be discarded, however, because as the list of garments prepared for the *lubuštu* ceremony indicates, the differences relate not to the principal clothes but to the trimmings, belts, sashes and headbands. The time when the clothes were used is also interesting; below we define the garments as set A (months I, II, VIII) and set B (months VI, VII, XII).

Garments of set A were used from 7th Nisannu until 2th Ulūlu, with a change for an identical set on 10th Ayaru. This means that the same set of clothes was used for a period of about 5 months. Garments of set A were used again from 15th Araḥsamna until 15th Addaru, that is for about 4 months.

Garments of set B were used from 3th Ulūlu until 14th Araḥsamna with the change for an identical set on 7th Tašrītu. This means that the same set of garments was used for a period of about 2.5 months only. Clothes of set B were used from 15th Addaru until 6th Nisannu, that is, for less than a month. It is clear therefore that Šamaš would be dressed in the clothes of set A for almost 9 months, and in the garments of set B only for a little longer than three months, from the middle of September to the middle of November and for about three weeks from the middle of March to the beginning of April. Set A would then be used from the beginning of April until the middle of September, and from the middle of November until the middle of March, in two quite different climatic seasons.

However, we are not sure whether the gods and goddesses were dressed in the same garments for the whole time until the next *lubuštu* ceremony or if shortly after the conclusion of the ceremony they were undressed and left “naked”, i.e. they were dressed only in the “stone garments”, comparable to the presentation of the king’s statue in the Neo-Assyrian period.⁴⁸⁶ Such

⁴⁸⁵ MATSUSHIMA 1993, 213.

⁴⁸⁶ That efforts were made to imitate with “stone” garments on king’s statues those actually worn by kings is shown on the royal statues from Dūr-Šarrukīn, now in the Louvre Mu-

a possibility seems to me more likely because quite often before the *lubuštu* ceremony garments were taken from the storehouses or from the boxes. It should be noted that in the daily cultic ceremonies performed in the temples the ceremonies of awaking the gods, their nursing, etc. are known, but a ceremony of dressing is missing. The most important argument against the idea of a change of garments owing to seasonal differences is that the attire differed in each cycle only in the small elements, which are not sufficient to differentiate the winter from the summer garments.

As already stated, the denomination of the garments in each cycle shows that in three consecutive months within the one year both of the different sets of garments were in use (A describes one cycle, B the other):

Addaru	Nisannu	Ayaru	Ulūlu	Tašrītu	Araḥsamna
B	A	A	B	B	A

Hence, the only sensible justification for the changes of clothing should be sought for in the rituals and cultic calendar, perhaps in tradition, but not in the climate.

Still, Matsushima's observation that the change of clothes took place in two cycles of three months each is, in my opinion, crucial to understanding the organisation of the cult in Sippar in the ninth century B.C., when the original version of BM 91002 and BBSt 36 (BM 91000) was written. It is highly improbable that such a sequence is simply accidental. For the proper understanding of the texts we have to remember the tradition of dividing the year into two six-month seasons going back to Sumerian times.⁴⁸⁷ According to BBSt 36, col. V 51 – col. VI 4, the following garments were offered for Šamaš, Aya, and Bunene by Nabû-apal-iddinna:

Nisannu, 7th – the *šeri'ītu* garment
 Ayaru, 10th – the *šeri'ītu* garment
 Ulūlu, 3rd – the *karbītu* garment
 Tašrītu, 7th – the *karbītu* garment
 Araḥsamna, the 15th – the *šeri'ītu* garment
 Addaru, the 15th – the *karbītu* garment


Concerning the garments for Šamaš known from BM 91002, see above, p. 141.

If the composer of the texts had in mind the cultic year lasting from Nisannu until Addaru, the sequence of the issue of garments for Šamaš, Aya and Bunene and the *lubuštu* ceremony can be presented in the form of


seum. Traces of paint on fragments of headdresses or sleeves, which were made of red wool, are still partly preserved.

⁴⁸⁷ COHEN, *The Cultic Calendars*, p. 7. LANDSBERGER, *JNES* 8, pp. 249–296.

the following graph (cycle A; cycle B), both in BM 91002 and BM 91000 = BBSt 36 (Roman numerals are used for the Julian calendar):

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	
first half of the year	A	A	—	—	—	B	
second half of the year	B	—	—	—	A	B	
	XII	XI	X	IX	VIII	VII	

However, it is well known that the people of Mesopotamia also knew a different calendar, beginning in the month of Addaru (Sum. *še.kin.ku₅*), i.e. the month of the barley harvest.⁴⁸⁸ Taking into account the possible use of such a calendar at Sippar at the time of Nabû-apal-iddina, we get the following graph:

	XII	I	II	III	IV	V	
first part of the year	B	A	A	—	—	—	
second half of the year	—	—	—	A	B	B	
	XI	X	IX	VIII	VII	VI	

As we see, the “autumn year” begins with three consecutive *lubuštu* ceremonies but the set of garments for each month is in fact counterbalanced with the set of garments for each month of the “spring year.” Each half of the year is divided into three months with the *lubuštu* ceremony and three months without a ceremony. We see here most probably a conscious play with the numeral three, i.e. in each half of the year three consecutive months with the *lubuštu* ceremony and the next three months without such a ceremony. The above observation gives, in my opinion, a strong argument for the idea that in Sippar, in the ninth century B.C. at least, the cultic year commenced in Addaru and ended in the month of Šabātu.⁴⁸⁹ The alternative possibility is that although the calendar commencing in Nisannu and ending in Addaru was already in use, the cultic ceremonies still followed the older tradition going back to the third millennium B.C.

2. The position of the gods and goddesses in the Sippar Pantheon

The rich collection of *dullu pešû* and the *miḥṣu tenû* texts concerning the manufacturing of garments for cultic purposes is the most important source

⁴⁸⁸ In the light of data gathered by COHEN, *The Cultic Calendars*, such a calendar was in use in pre-Sargonic Lagaš (p. 15, and 40, Calendar 3), in Ur (p. 119 and 125), in the Ur III period in Umma (pp. 120, 133, 162, 165) and in Ur (p. 133), Drehem (p. 134), Ešnunna (p. 135), in Old-Babylonian Ur (p. 229), probably in Amorite Tell Rimah, Chagar Bazar and Šubat-Enlil (p. 257) and in the Elamite calendar at Susa in the first millennium (p. 340).

⁴⁸⁹ Accordingly also the *akītu* festivals were to be placed in Addaru and Ulūlu.

for our knowledge of the pantheon and the cultic calendar of the city of Sippar. However, an effort to reconstruct the position of particular gods in Sippar cannot be based on these texts only because – as we have stressed many times before – they concern only the issue of garments for Šamaš and some elements of garments for other gods recognised as indigenous and worshipped in Sippar since time immemorial. Comparison with other categories of texts shows that the sequences in which the garments for these gods appear agree, in general, with the ranking of a particular god. However, when we try to reconstruct the full list of gods worshipped in Sippar, many other gods have to be placed in between them and sometimes the position of the given god in another text is different. To recognise the real position of a god in the pantheon of Sippar such texts as the *tabû* lists and the animal offering lists have to be taken into consideration. Both categories of text are of special importance because they concern not only the “indigenous” gods but also those who may be described as “outsiders.”

The persons responsible for the preparation of fabrics for the *tabû*-processions can be identified as the non-prebendary *išpar kitê*⁴⁹⁰ or the prebendary *ašlāku*;⁴⁹¹ the latter – as recognised above – was not the manufacturer of the linen items, but only supervisor responsible for their preparation for a given ceremony. It is interesting to note that also in the *iškaru* texts the manufacturers belonged to the *išpar kitê* group while the supervisors belonged to the *ašlāku* group. A possible conclusion is that the *išpar kitê* manufactured the fabrics for the *tabû* processions as their *iškaru* obligations under the supervision of the *ašlāku*.⁴⁹² If this observation is right it means that *iškaru* supplementary obligation imposed on non-prebendary linen weavers⁴⁹³ by the temple administration comprised not only garments for the indigenous gods but also some fabrics for the gods from outside (at least Marduk and Šarpanītu, Immertu, Nin-ŠA present in the *tabû* texts). Just like the animal offering lists the *tabû* texts are a good basis for the reconstruction of the position of particular gods in the cult at Sippar. By analysing the contents of the *tabû* lists we note that the scribes took into account two different criteria, the quality of garments and the position of the gods in the pantheon. In other words, the garments of higher quality, usually new (*eššu*) were issued to the most important gods, followed by the garments of lower quality, usually old (*labīru*), issued to gods of lower position. For the estimation of the position of the god in the pantheon the most important factor is the category of garments issued to him and, sec-

⁴⁹⁰ Bunene-šimanni and Nergal-uballiṭ.

⁴⁹¹ Šillaya, Šamaš-uballiṭ and Šamaš-zēr-ušabši.

⁴⁹² The *iškaru* obligations had an exceptional character and did not belong to the ordinary obligation of the non-prebendary linen weavers. This is suggested by the quantity of the obligation, usually one item yearly (BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 307 and p. 360).

⁴⁹³ All suppliers known from the *iškaru* lists might be recognised as the non-prebendary linen weavers, i.e. *išpar kitê* or *mukabbû*.

ond, the position of the given god in the list of a particular kind of garment. The great uniformity of the *tabû* texts suggests that the perceptible differences between them reveal most probably the changes of the position of the god in the pantheon and his role in the cult in the city. Important also is the presence or absence of a garment for a given god, its place in the overall contents of the text, and whether or not the changes are connected with the reign of the particular king. More detailed observations are possible in the table presented below. The table includes only those texts in which the name of the king is preserved or where, as in BM 66166, the date seems certain because of the almost complete parallelism with Cyr 185.⁴⁹⁴ For ease of comparison the sequence of gods in the *dullu pešû* and the *miḫšu tenû* and in the animal offering lists are first presented.

Animal offering lists are important because they include the most complete lists of gods appearing in the texts from the Ebabbar archives. The question which should be resolved, is why such gods as Marduk, Šarpanītu, Anu and Enlil and many other, present in the animal offering lists, are absent in all kind of texts (except *tabû* text) concerning the manufacturing of sacral garments. To find the correct answer, it should be noted that all the gods known only from animal offering lists do not belong to the indigenous Sippar gods, i.e. their cult came from outside of Sippar, and some of them can be described as imperial gods. The lack of garments for such gods can be explained by the fact that the gods were represented not by their statues but by their symbols, the fact well known from Uruk.

In the animal offering lists not only is the position of gods important, but also the quantity and quality of offerings. As in the *tabû* texts, the uniformity of the animal offering lists make it possible to observe changes in the position of a god over time.

TABLE 29: Sequence of gods in the *dullu pešû*, the *miḫšu tenû* and in the animal offering lists

<i>dullu pešû</i>	<i>miḫšu tenû</i>	animal offerings lists
1. Šamaš	1. Šamaš	1. Šamaš
2. Aya	2. Aya	2. Aya
		3. Marduk
		4. Šarpanītu
		5. <i>Ziqqurat</i> (exc. 3)
3. Bunene	3./4. Bunene	6. Bunene (exc. 3)
	3./4. <i>mārāt Ebabbar</i>	(see below 10. etc.)

⁴⁹⁴ Other texts are preserved so fragmentarily that any conclusion based on them is risky. For technical reasons the particular garments are presented in separate sub-tables, but all should be treated as one table.

4. Šarrat Sippar	5. Šarrat Sippar	7. Šarrat Sippar (exc. 6)
5. Anunītu	6. Anunītu	12. Anunītu (exc. 11, 14, 16)
6./7. Adad	7./8. Adad	8. Adad (exc. 7, 10)
		Ninurta (exc. 8)
7./8. Šala	8./9. Šala	9. Šala (exc. 8, 11)
6./8. Gula	7./9. Gula	(Gula: 6, 8, 9)
		8./9. Anu (later 12, 13, 15)
		Enlil: 9, 10, 13, 14, 16
		9./13. <i>narkabtu</i>
	(see above 3./4.)	<i>mārāt Ebabbar</i> : 10, 11, 14, 16, 15, 17
		10./11. Ištar- <i>tašmê</i> (exc. 13)
		11. Nanaya of Dur-Kurigalzu (exc. 12, 14)

exc. = exceptionally

TABLE 30: The sequence of gods in the *tabû* texts

Garm ent	Deity	Nbk 312	Nbn 694	Nbn 696	BM 75848	CT 55, 814	Cyr 185	BM 66166
<i>hul-lānu eššu</i>	Šamaš	1	1	1	1	1	[1]	[1]
	Bunene	2	—	—	—	2	—	[—](?)
<i>salḫu eššu</i>	Šamaš	1	1	1	1	1! ⁴⁹⁵	1	[1]
	Aya	—	2	2	3	3!	2	‘2’
	<i>ana/ša talukātu</i>	2 (Ša-maš)	3	3	2	2! (Ša-maš)	3	3
	Gula	—	—	—	5	4	—	—
	Bunene	—	—	—	6 ⁴⁹⁶	—	—	—
	Šarrat Sippar	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	<i>mārāt Ebabbar</i>	3	—	—	4	—	—	—

⁴⁹⁵ The scribe omitted the information about the *salḫu eššu*, usually placed after the heading, and added it only at the end of the text (l. 23). The mistake seems to be so clear that we give that item the first place as in other texts. Additionally Šamaš and Aya received *salḫus* (new or old) *ana UGU šubti* (l. 4 and 6).

⁴⁹⁶ The *salḫu eššu* for Bunene appears also in BM 63503+: 4’ and probably in BM 61964: [5’].

<i>salḫu eššu ana kībsu</i>	Šamaš	1	1	1	1	1	1 ⁴⁹⁷	「1」
<i>salḫu labīri (ana taḫpāšu)</i>	Šamaš	1	1	1	1	1 ⁴⁹⁸	1	1
	Aya	2	[2]	2	2	2	2	2
	Immertu	—	「3」	3	3	3	3	3
	Bunene	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Šarrat Sippar	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>kībsu eššu</i>	Aya	—	1 ⁴⁹⁹	1	—	—	—	—
	Bunene	1	2 ⁵⁰⁰	2	1	4	2 ⁵⁰¹	2
	Šarrat Sippar	2	3 ⁵⁰²	3	2	—	3	[3]
	Gula	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
	<i>mārāt Ebabar</i>	—	—	—	—	3	1	1
	Marduk <i>u</i> Bēltiya	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
	Nin-ŠA	—	—	—	—	5	—	—
	<i>Ziqqurat</i>	—	—	—	—	2	—	—
	Anunītu	—	—	—	—	6	—	—
	Adad <i>u</i> Šala	—	—	—	—	7	—	—
<i>kībsu labīri ana taḫpāšu</i>	Bunene	—	1	1	1	1	1	1
	Šarrat Sippar	—	2	2	2	—	2	2
	Anunītu	—	3	3	3	—	3	3
	Gula	—	4	4	4	—	4	4
	Nin-ŠA	—	—	—	—	2	—	—

⁴⁹⁷ See Part 2, commentary to l. 6.

⁴⁹⁸ See the commentary below for a transliteration of the text.

⁴⁹⁹ L. 7: *kībsu eššu pētū ana šubtu*.

⁵⁰⁰ L. 16: *kībsu eššu pētū*.

⁵⁰¹ The different sequence, i.e. first *mārāt Ebabbar* and later Bunene, might have been caused by the common mention of a new and used *kībsu* for Bunene.

⁵⁰² L. 17: *kībsu eššu pētū*.

<i>kibsu labīri</i>	Bunene	「1」 ¹	—	—	—	—	3	3
	Šarrat Sippar	「2」 ¹	—	—		—	4	4
	Anunītu	—	1	1	—	—	5	[5]
	Gula	3	2	2	—	—	6	6
	<i>Ziqqur-rat</i>	5 ⁵⁰³	3	3	—	—	2	2
	(<i>bīt</i>) Marduk u Bēltiya	4 ⁵⁰⁴ (Mar- duk)	4 (<i>bīt</i> Mar- duk)	4 (<i>bīt</i> Mar- duk)	—	—	1 (Mar- duk u Bēlti- ya)	1 (Mar- duk u Bēlti- ya)
	Adad	—	5	5	—	—	7	7
	Šala	—	6	6	—	—	8	8

The contents of the texts may be summarised in the way presented in the table below. Although we have only one text from the time of Nebuchadnezzar, four texts from the time of Nabonidus,⁵⁰⁵ and two texts from the time of Cyrus,⁵⁰⁶ some differences can be observed.

Garment	Time of Nebuchadnezzar	Time of Nabonidus	Time of Cyrus
<i>ḥullānu</i>	Šamaš and Bunene	Šamaš (in one text also Bunene)	Šamaš (and Bunene?)
<i>salḥu eššu</i>	Šamaš and for <i>talukātu</i>	Šamaš, Aya and for <i>talukātu</i> ; exceptionally for Gula and Bunene	Šamaš, Aya and for <i>talukātu</i>
<i>salḥu eššu ana kibsu</i>	Šamaš	Šamaš	Šamaš
<i>salḥu labīri ana taḥapšu</i>	Šamaš, Aya, Bunene and Šarrat Sippar	Šamaš, Aya, Immertu	Šamaš, Aya, Immertu

⁵⁰³ L. 21–22. The adjective *labīri* is missing, but cf. other texts.

⁵⁰⁴ L. 20. The adjective *labīri* is missing, but cf. other texts.

⁵⁰⁵ We can add here also BM 60307 = Str II 337/4, but only the first twelve lines are preserved, including the most standard part of the text, similar to Nbn 694 and Nbn 696.

⁵⁰⁶ The second text, BM 66166, must have been written at the time of Cyrus because of its parallels to Cyr 185. The third text from the time of Cyrus is Cam 148, dated to the second year of that king (the collated text will be published in Part 2).

<i>kibsu eššu</i>	Bunene, Šarrat Sippar and Gula	Aya (exceptionally), Bunene and Šarrat Sippar	Bunene, Šarrat Sippar and (exceptionally?) <i>mārāt Ebabbar</i>
<i>kibsu labīri ana taḥapšu</i>	—	Bunene, Šarrat Sippar, Anunītu and Gula, exceptionally Nin-ŠA	Bunene, Šarrat Sippar, Anunītu and Gula
<i>kibsu labīri</i>	Bunene, Šarrat Sippar, Gula, Marduk, <i>Ziqqurat</i>	Anunītu, Gula, <i>Ziq-qurat</i> , Marduk (and Bēltiya); ⁵⁰⁷ Adad and Šala	Marduk and Bēltiya, <i>Ziqqurat</i> , Bunene, Šarrat Sippar, Anunītu, Gula, Adad, Šala

General description of the animal offering lists and the garment texts

Taking into account the quantity and quality of offerings in the animal offering lists,⁵⁰⁸ three different groups of gods can be recognised:

a.) The deities for whom all the kinds of animals and birds mentioned in the heading of the text, i.e. the full-grown ox (^{gud}*šuklulu* or ^{gud}*ŠU.DU*₇), calf (*bīru* = NINDA), young male sheep (*pargallu*), lamb (SILA₄ = *puḥādu* or *kalūmu*), goose (KUR.GI.MUŠEN = *kurkū*), duck (*paspasu* = UZ.TUR.MUŠEN) and turtledove (*sukannīnu* = TU.KUR₄.MUŠEN) are issued. There are two types of list. In the one type of list the full offerings were regularly served to Šamaš, Aya, Marduk, Šarpanītu, the deified *Ziq-qurat*, Bunene, and Šarrat Sippar.⁵⁰⁹ In general, in these lists the offerings

⁵⁰⁷ Only in one text, CT 55, 814: 12 (time of Nabonidus; year broken).

⁵⁰⁸ For the general description of the *niqē šarri* texts, see DA RIVA, AOAT 291, pp. 274ff.

⁵⁰⁹ To this group belong the following texts:

- from the time of Nabopolassar: BM 78885 (6.1.[Nbp] 15); BM 49787 ([x].8.Nbp 15); BM 49995 (11.1.Nbp 17); BM 78901 (20.12.Nbp 17); BM 50212 (2.[x].Nbp 1'7'); BM 51264 (11.1.Nbp 18); RA 74, p. 59 (13.2.Nbp 19); VS 6, 213 (14.2.[Nbp] 20); BM 78894 (2.1.Nbp 21); BM 49968 (15.1.Nbp [x]); BM 49981 (6.1.Nbp 19); BM 77503 (date, broken; time of Nbp);
- from the time of Nebuchadnezzar: BM 72768 ('24.8'.Nbk 0); CT 44, 71 (20.12.Nbk 1); VS 6, 21 ([x.x] Nbk 1); YOS 17, 313 (-.8.Nbk 3); BM 79042 (8.1.Nbk 4) (BM 50146 ('11'.[x].Nb[k] 4); BM 49204 (-.8.Nbk 6); BM 82562 (8.7.Nbk 7); BM 79090 (20.'2'.Nbk 8); VS 6, 29 (19.8.Nbk 8); BM 50135 (8.'1'.<Nbk>9); BM 50000 (10.2'.Nbk 10); VS 6, 32 (20.3.Nbk 12); BM 49207 (-10.Nbk 13); BM 49956 (20.[x].Nbk 13);
- from the time of Nabonidus: BM 67635 (6.1.Nbn 3).

A lot of animal offering lists are badly preserved and the dating is entirely or partly missing. The following criteria (one or more) make possible to establish the date more or less precisely:

for the aforementioned gods are almost equal. Usually Šamaš and Aya received two turtledoves instead of one; Marduk and Šarpanītu two young male sheep (*pargallu*), however, they are usually paired, i.e. treated as a unity, and all offerings were given for them as if for one being. For the god Bunene instead of a full-grown ox (^{gud}*šuklulu*) a young calf (*bīru*) was offered.⁵¹⁰ There is, however a second type of list, in which the full offerings were given exclusively to Šamaš and Aya, of the same quality and quantity as in the aforementioned lists, while all other god have to be satisfied with only two animals, usually a young male sheep (*pargallu*) and bird.^{511, 512} From the time of Nabopolassar there are animal offering lists with only one or two types of animals (most often *pargallu* and *šuklulu*), usually with the same typical order of gods and for this reason they are not analysed here. A similar list is also known from the time of Nabonidus with some differences, which deserve separate study.⁵¹³

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- if the deified *ūmu*, *kittu*, *mīšaru* and *dayyanu* are present: the time of Nbp;
 - if the *Ziqqurat* is placed in the list before Marduk: time of Nbp;
 - if the name of Nbk is present, but Gula is missing: Nbk 0–7;
 - if Ninurta and Gula are present: Nbk 8 or 9;
 - if Gula is present but Ninurta missing: Nbk 10 or later;
 - if Ištar-tašmē is present: time of Nbk. These texts are mentioned in the appropriate places only.

⁵¹⁰ Sometimes a young calf was offered also to Šarrat Sippar (DA RIVA, AOAT 291, p. 276).

⁵¹¹ BM 49374 (16.10.Nbp 17); BM 49424 (28.[x].Nbp 18); BM 53075 (4.4.Nbp 21); BM 49940 (4.2.Nbk 2); BM 79084 (3.11.Nbk 3; see JANKOVIĆ No. 6); BM 77940 (13.4 (Nbk) 5); BM 78642 (5.9.Nbk 5); BM 73339 (Nbk 0–7); BM 49252 ([x].2.Nbk 8); BM 49982 (15.10.Nbk 8); BM 77818 (13.4.Nbk 9); BM 49488 (4.11.Nbk 13); BM 72817 (25.2.Nbk 17); BM 67873 (Nbk 10 or later). Here belongs also BM 79059 dated 3.11.<KN> 8. The presence of Gula suggests dating the text to the time of Nebuchadnezzar, but the lack of Marduk and Šarpanītu is surprising.

⁵¹² In the following texts the left side is not preserved or text is preserved too badly to determine whether full offerings were given only to Šamaš and Aya or also to other gods of the second and third category: BM 51538 (20.[x].Nbp 12); BM 51678; BM 51900; BM 52563; BM 52688 (19.8.Nbp 20); BM 70833 ([Nbk] 33); BM 50393 (Nbk 10 or later); BM 73275; BM 73339; BM 83935.

⁵¹³ It should be noted that some changes in the organisation of the animal offerings took place at that time (if not earlier). Such texts as Nbn 699 and CT 55, 664 suggest that the gods were divided into two groups, and for the gods of the first group the animals fattened in the *bīt urē* were served, while animals for the second group of gods were delivered directly by the shepherds. The comparison of both texts shows that in Nbn 699: 15 we have to read ^d<AMAR>.UTU. Note that in CT 55, 664 the fattened sheep are offered to only six gods (Šamaš, Aya, Bunene, Šarrat Sippar, Adad and the deified Chariot), while in Nbn 699 also Anunītu, Gula and GAŠAN šá 'x'. The importance of the difference between fattened and not fattened animals is strongly stressed in the cultic texts, see for example AO 6451: rev. 4–5 (and passim): 7 UDU.NÍTA *reš-tu-ú-tú ma-ru-tu₄* DADAG.GA ⁵šá 2-ta MU.AN.NA.MEŠ ŠE.BAR GU₇.MEŠ and rev. 6–7: 1^{en} ^{gud}AMAR GA ù 10 UDU.NÍTA *kab-ru-tu* ⁷šá EGIR-šú-nu šá ŠE.BAR la GU₇.MEŠ, “7 first-quality sheep, fat (and) pure, which have been fed barley for 2 years.... 1 full-grown ox,

b.) The deities for whom only some categories of animals or birds, or exclusively birds, i.e. offerings of lower quality, were offered: usually a young male sheep (*pargallu*) and calf (SILA₄ = *puḫādu*, or *kalūmu*), and as the third offering one goose or one duck. Such a set of offerings, usually in equal quantity or with minor differences, was destined for Adad and Šala, the deified Chariot (*narkabtu*), Ištar-tašmê (^dMUŠ ^{giš}TUK),⁵¹⁴ and Nanaya of Dūr-Galzu and Anunītu-ša-Sippar-Anunītu. Among this group in some texts the offerings for Adad and Šala are given separately, in others the couple is treated as an entity. The separate offerings were more “profitable” for them because when they were treated separately one *pargallu*, one *kalūmu*, one goose and one dove were offered for each of the gods, while when they were treated as a couple, only one *pargallu* was given for them. Ištar-tašmê and Nanaya of Dūr-Galzu, were usually also paired. One point has to be stressed additionally: the same (or very similar quantity of) offerings in the animal offering lists for Gula, Adad, Šala, and the deified Chariot, demonstrates that their position in the cult was very close.

c.) The third group with Anu and Enlil⁵¹⁵ and *mārāt Ebabbar* appears only in the texts dated to the time of Nebuchadnezzar. At the time of Nabopolassar when Anu and Enlil (and *mārāt Ebabbar*) belonged to the second group,⁵¹⁶ they usually received two sheep and, at least sometimes, one bird (BM 78885: 10 dated to the fifteenth year of Nabopolassar) or even one cow and two sheep (BM 50212, the same year). However, already in a few texts from the time of Nabopolassar, although they still took the same position their offering are slightly reduced, i.e. they received only two young sheep,⁵¹⁷ and the same animals are presented to him at the time of Nebuchadnezzar, when they were shifted to the end of the list. One can say that although they preserved their higher position on the lists, already

1 suckling calf and 10 fat sheep of lesser quality which have not been fed barley” (cited according to the recent edition of LINSSEN 2004, p. 174 and translation on p. 178).

⁵¹⁴ Concerning the reading of her name, see McEWAN, *RA* 77, 188–189; GEORGE, *House Most High*, p. 148 (nos. 1072–1073), cited by BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 230, n. 202, is instructive for the reading GIŠ.TUK = *šemû*, i.e. it does not concern the temple of Ištar-tašmê.

⁵¹⁵ The name is usually written syllabically, with few exceptions, where the writing with the numeral 50 appears, see BM 50893: 8’ [Nbp] 19; BM 50124: 12 (20.12.[Nbp x], BM 51531: 6’. The sequence Šarrat Sippar, Adad and Šala, Anu and Enlil, *mārāt Ebabbar* suggests that the first two texts were written at the very end of Nabopolassar and last time in the similar time or at the very beginning of Nebuchadnezzar’s reign.

⁵¹⁶ In BM 52839 (date broken, but without any doubt the text was written at the time of Nabopolassar because Adad and Šala from Zabban and ^dIGI.DU and ^dKallat-ekur from Opis are present, who disappear after the accession of Nebuchadnezzar) they follow the deified *Ziqqurat* and precede Bunene, i.e. they have the place in the first group. However, because the left part of the text enumerating offerings is missing, we do not know whether they were really recognized as the gods of the first group or not.

⁵¹⁷ BM 49787: 8’ ([x].8.Nbp 15) and BM 51264: 10’ (11.1.Nbp 18). In both texts the heading are missing, but usually in the second column the young male sheep (*pargallu*) are placed.

in the later period of Nabopolassar their position was clearly weaker than in the earlier time. Also the *mārāt Ebabbar*, who earlier received one sheep and one bird,⁵¹⁸ later when they were shifted to the end of the list had to be content with one sheep only.⁵¹⁹ Only in VS 6, 21, from the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, shortly after they were shifted to the end of list, did they still receive one *pargallu* and one bird.

Comparison of these lists with the *dullu pešû* and *miḥṣu tenû* lists, and especially with the *tabû* texts, reveals some important differences:

- There is no mention of garments for Marduk and Šarpanītum in the first two categories of text, and they took low a position in the *tabû* texts, where they received only the lowest category of item
- Additionally, in the *dullu pešû* and *miḥṣu tenû* lists there are no items for the deified *Ziqqurat*
- In the *dullu pešû* and *miḥṣu tenû* lists the *mārāt Ebabbar* usually follow Šarrat Sippar and precede Adad and Šala and Gula, which means that their position is much higher than in the animal offering lists.

Below are some observations deriving from all the texts presented:

1. Šamaš and Aya

All lists demonstrate the leading position of the city god Šamaš, which is never questioned. He and his consort Aya always occupy the first and the second positions. Their dominant position is especially demonstrated in the animal offering lists where, in many texts, the full offerings are given exclusively for the “first couple” while for all other gods only one item was offered. One can say that on that particular day all other gods functioned as Šamaš and Aya’s courtiers.⁵²⁰ In the *tabû* texts the privileged position of Šamaš is demonstrated additionally by the fact that he is the only god for whom a new *hullānu* garment was regularly issued. Also, the second position of Aya, just as in the animal offering lists, is in general unquestionable. The only text in which she took a lower position is Nbk 312; moreover, in that text, contrary to other *tabû* texts, she received only a *salḫu labīri* used as a blanket (*taḥapšu*). In the other *tabû* texts a new *salḫu* was regularly issued to her and sometimes also a *kibsu*, always a new one. Be-

⁵¹⁸ BM 78885 (Nbp 15); BM 49787 (Nbp 15); BM 49424 (Nbp 18); BM 77503 (year broken, but certainly from the time of Nbp).

⁵¹⁹ BM 49940, dated to the second year of Nbk; BM 50146, (forth year of Nbk); BM 49956 (thirteenth year of Nbk); VS 6, 21 (eighth year of Nbk); BM 50135 (ninth year of Nbk); BM 50153 (date broken); BM 50156 (date broken).

⁵²⁰ However, the interpretation of such lists is far from clear. We can see in them a way of exalting Šamaš and Aya on days when the cult was focused on them, or quite the opposite, that they were ordinary days, in which full offerings were issued for the “first couple” of the city only.

cause of their lower quality, the *kibsu labīri* and the *kibsu labīri ana taḥapšu* were not acceptable for her.

2. Marduk, Šarpanītu and the deified *Ziqqurat*

Positions 3–5 in the animal offering lists belong to Marduk and his consort Šarpanītu, who are followed by the deified *Ziqqurat*. The issue of the full complement of meat offerings demonstrates their high position; additionally they received regularly two young male sheep (*pargallu*), whereas for Šamaš and Aya, who received separate offerings, only one animal was offered for each. However, because Marduk and Šarpanītu are usually treated as a unity, per capita the offerings given to them were in fact much lower. The texts in which the offerings were given, not for the chapel (*bītu*) of Marduk and Šarpanītu,⁵²¹ but for their symbols (*šubtus*),⁵²² are most probably only more precise, i.e. the offerings were placed in their chapel in front of their *šubtus*.

In comparison with the animal offering lists the position of Marduk and Šarpanītu in the *tabû* texts is low. They received regularly only one item of the lowest quality, i.e. *kibsu labīri ana taḥapšu*, i.e. *kibsu* fabric used as a blanket. In Nbk 312, the only *tabû* text known from the time of Nebuchadnezzar, Marduk (alone, without Šarpanītu) took the position after Bunene, Šarrat Sippar and Gula but before the deified *Ziqqurat*. The low quality of garments and the low place in the lists cannot be accidental, although it is difficult to explain. Possibly the difference is connected with the role of a particular god in the *tabû* ceremony, but most probably with the fact that they were worshipped not in statues but only in their symbols. In general, it seems that “indigenous” gods, except for Adad and Šala, would have played a more important role in the cult than the gods from outside of Sippar, including Marduk and Šarpanītu. In two *tabû* texts from the time of Nabonidus Marduk appears after Anunītu, Gula and the deified *Ziqqurat*, and precedes only Adad and Šala.⁵²³ Additionally, we should note the absence of Marduk and Šarpanītu in BM 75848 (= Str II 176/3), written in an unknown year of Nabonidus. It seems that these changes at the time of Nabonidus are not accidental, especially in the light of the elevation of Marduk and Bēltiya in the *kibsu labīri ana taḥapšu* category of garments in two texts from the time of Cyrus. We have too little data to formulate a

⁵²¹ The chapel (*bītu*) of Marduk or Marduk and Šarpanītu is mentioned in the following animal offering lists: BM 78050: 8 (4.4.Nbp 7); BM 50733: 5' (12.2.<Nbp> 13); BM 50212: 8 (2.[x].Nbp1'7'); BM 49424: 6 (28.[x].Nbp 18); BM 50600: 7 (13.2.<Nbp?> 15; BM 52915: 6 ([x].8.[Nbp x])

⁵²² BM 56266: 2–3 (KENNEDY 1963) and BM 56122: 5 (KENNEDY 1963); BM 63670: 6'; BM 73160: 5'; BM 83812: 2'; *OrSu* 50, no. 15: 4 (21.9.Nbn 9) (barley for *sattukku* and *pappasu*)

⁵²³ Only in CT 55, 814, dated to an unknown year of Nabonidus, do Marduk and Bēltiya receive two new *kibsus* and are mentioned in the first position in this group of items.

more convincing conclusion, but it cannot be excluded that the absence of the couple in one text and their lower position in two other texts results from Nabonidus's religious reform, the central aim of which was to replace Marduk in his role as the leader of the gods with Sin. If this is true, the most probable time for the composition of BM 75848 is the period after Nabonidus' return from Tema, i.e. year 542 B.C. or later, while CT 55, 814 might have been written at the very beginning of his reign. Similarly, the presence of Marduk and Šarpanītu in the texts dated to the time of Cyrus and their elevation to the first position in this category of garment text might have been the reaction of the Persian king to the discussion of Marduk's role in Babylonian religion.⁵²⁴

It is interesting to note that in some texts dated to the time of Nabopolassar the deified *Ziqqurat* precedes Marduk and Šarpanītu,⁵²⁵ while in others it follows them.⁵²⁶ The sequence in the first group cannot be accidental because also in two *tabû* texts⁵²⁷ the deified *Ziqqurat* precedes Marduk and Bēltiya (= Šarpanītu),⁵²⁸ while in others it follows them. The chronological distribution of the texts suggests that the new order, with Marduk and Šarpanītu before the deified *Ziqqurat*, was introduced at the end of Nabopolassar's reign, probably in the second half of his seventeenth year, and this sequence was observed also at the time of Nebuchadnezzar.⁵²⁹ It seems that by moving the deified *Ziqqurat* after Marduk and Šarpanītu, Nabopolassar gave preference to the highest gods of the country

⁵²⁴ In Cyr 186: 11 (see also NUVI 2, 115) and Cam 312 (see NUVI 2, 158) based on Strassmaier's copy it is suggested that some garments were manufactured in Sippar for Marduk. In fact in Cyr 186:11 there is [¹/₃ *ma-na* K1.LAL TUG.ÚR šá] ^dIM* u ^dŠa*-[la] and in Camb 312: 12 šá ^dHAR*. In result contra K. van der Toorn (in BIDMEAD 2002, p. 140 and n. 37) Cyr 186 has nothing to do with "supplying garments for the gods in a rite performed in the Esagila on the 7th day of Nisan" because it concerns garments manufactured in Sippar for the gods worshipped in Sippar by the weaver's prebendary of the Ebabbar temple.

⁵²⁵ In the following texts the deified *Ziqqurat* precedes Marduk and Šarpanītu: Mold. II 12 (13.2.Nbp 2); BM 78050: 6 (4.4.Nbp 7); BM 78885 (6.1.<Nbp> 15); BM 50600 (13.2.<Nbp?> 15); BM 49995 (11.1.Nbp 17); BM 50212 (2.[x].Nbp 1'7¹); BM 50398 (time of Nbp); BM 52915 ([x].8.[Nbp x]). In BM 82558 (cakes offerings) the deified *Ziqqurat* is mentioned already after Šamaš and Aya, but in the parallel text BM 50501 (20.12.Nbp 1'9¹*, collated) it follows Marduk and Šarpanītu, which suggests that in the first text the order might be accidental.

⁵²⁶ BM 49374 (16.10.Nbp 17); BM 78901 (20.12.Nbp 17); BM 49424 (28.[x].Nbp 18); BM 49981 (6.1.Nbp 19); RA 74, p. 59 (13.2.Nbp 19); VS 6, 213 (14.2.[Nbp] 20); BM 52668 (19.8.Nbp 20); BM 78894 (2.1.Nbp 21); BM 53075 (4.4.Nbp 21); BM 49968 (15.1.Nbp [x]).

⁵²⁷ In Nbn 694 and in Nbn 696.

⁵²⁸ The writing Bēltiya instead of Šarpanītu is used regularly only in the Persian period. The earliest writing (^dGAŠAN-ia) known to me appears in ABL 1340: 8 (DIETRICH, SAA 17, no. 34, and p. XXIII; time of Sennacherib), recognised as an appellative of Ištar and translated "My Lady."

⁵²⁹ The only exception from the time of Nebuchadnezzar known to me is Mold. II 49 (22.3.Nbk 4).

(the so-called “imperial gods”) and at the same time to the gods personified by human figures over the deified objects.

The fact that the deified *Ziqqurat* appears so close to Marduk and Šarpanītu (directly after or sometimes before them) raises the question as to whether Etemenanki, the *ziqqurat* of the Esagila temple in Babylon, or é.kun₄.an.kù.ga, “House, Pure Stairway of Heaven”,⁵³⁰ the *ziqqurat* of the Ebabbar temple in Sippar is meant. There are, however, a few indirect arguments favouring the second possibility. We know from the animal offering lists that meat offerings were presented not only to Šamaš alone, but also to his deified Chariot. Also offerings for *ūmu*, *kittu*, *mīšaru* and *dayyānu* should be recognised as offerings for different aspects of Šamaš.⁵³¹ BM 50501: 10⁵³² and the similar text BM 82588: 8, both including sweetcakes offering for gods, mention an offering for the bed (GIŠ.NÁ), by which most probably the bed of Šamaš is meant (see below).⁵³³ If offerings for the different immaterial powers and for the bed of Šamaš were issued, it is unlikely that no offering would be destined for the temple tower of the Ebabbar temple, the second most important structure in Sippar (after the Ebabbar temple).

An additional observation can be made regarding the writings of the name in the animal offering lists:⁵³⁴

- *Ziqu-ratu*,⁵³⁵ i.e. without the divine determinative, mostly dated to the time of Nabopolassar⁵³⁶

⁵³⁰ See GEORGE, *House Most High*, no. 672.

⁵³¹ RA 74, p. 59: 15; VS 6, 213: 15–16; BM 50501: 9 and BM 82588: 7 (in the last text, although four sweetcakes of each type were issued, only three powers, namely, *ūmu*, *kittu* and *mīšaru* are named).

⁵³² Published by DA RIVA, AOAT 291, pp. 287–89 and Taf. XII*. The bed of Šamaš (GIŠ.NÁ šá^dUTU) is mentioned in BM 49580: 2–3 and in BM 78914: 3 (written on the same day and concerning the same subject).

⁵³³ See also below, for the possibility that also Aya’s chair and possibly also Šamaš’s chair were recognised as worthy of offerings or a garment for its covering.

⁵³⁴ All are preceded by IGI “before,” omitted here.

⁵³⁵ Usually “improved” by scholars to *Ziq-<qr>-rat*. However, because such writing appears quite regularly, the more probable explanation is to see here CVCV+ CVCV, suggested by such writing as *ziqu-ra-tu₄* (BM 63670:7, 22) *ziqu-qu-ra-tu₄* (BM 59683: 2’) and *ziqu-ratu^u* (MACGINNIS, *Afo* 50, p. 409: 4). The question of such writings in Neo-Babylonian texts needs to be studied. For Neo-Assyrian period, see excellent study by K. Deller (DELLER 1962). The writing in BM 59683 offers a strong argument for writing the name with the emphatic *q*, not *k*.

⁵³⁶ BM 78050: 6 (4.4.Nbp 7); BM 50950: 8’ (12.[x].Nbp 9); BM 49652: 6 (13⁷.7.Nbp 11); BM 50740: 7 (20.8.Nbp 1’21; *ziqu-[ratu]*); BM 50733: 4’ (12.2.<Nbp> 13); BM 50129: 7 (8.7.Nbp 14); BM 78885: 6 (6.1.<Nbp> 15); BM 50600: 6 (13.2.<Nbp> 15); BM 49787: 2’ (*ziqu-[ratu]*), rev. 2 ([x].8.Nbp15); BM 49374:10 (16.10.Nbp 17); BM 51264: 6’ (11.1.Nbp 18); BM 51218:8 ([x].4.Nbp 18; *ziqu-[ratu]*); BM 49981: 8 (6.1.Nbp 19); BM 78894: 9 (2.1.Nbp 21); BM 49968: 9 (15.1.Nbp [x]); BM 50124:7 (20.12.[Nbp x]; BM 50135:4’ (8.1’1.<Nbk> 9); BM 77818: 8 (13.4.Nbk 9); BM 50615:7 ([x.x] Nbk 9); BM 52681: 4’ (time of Nbk). Maybe here belongs also BM 50893: 2’ (*ziqu-ratu*; the *ziqqurat* before Marduk suggests the time of Nbp).

- *Ziq-qur-rat*, beginning from the later reign of Nabopolassar⁵³⁷
- ^d*Ziqu-ratu*, i.e. with the divine determinative, all in the later reign of Nabopolassar⁵³⁸
- ^d*Ziqu-ra-tu*₄⁵³⁹
- ^d*Ziqu-ratu*^{tu540}
- ^d*Ziq-qur-rat*, beginning of Nebuchadnezzar or the very end of Nabopolassar⁵⁴¹
- É *Ziqu-ratu*⁵⁴²
- É *Ziq-qur-rat*, time of Nebuchadnezzar⁵⁴³
- ^dÉ *Ziq-qur-rat*, time of Nebuchadnezzar⁵⁴⁴

During the early years of Nabopolassar's rule, although animal offerings were served for the *Ziqqurat* represented most probably by a model (*šubtu*) of the temple tower, there was evidently some doubt as to whether it should be treated only as a divine power (and for this reason the divine determinative was omitted) or as a divine being, whose name should be preceded by the determinative. Such doubts still existed at the time of Nebuchadnezzar, because in quite an important group of texts the divine

⁵³⁷ RA 74, p. 59:7 (13.2.Nbp 19); BM 52839: 3' (time of Nbp); BM 52915: 5' ([x].8.[Nbp x]); BM 78642: 9 (5.9.Nbk 5); BM 50024, rev. 5' [Nbk 0–7]; BM 50649: 5 (time of Nbk).

⁵³⁸ BM 49190: 6 (20.12.Nbp15); BM 51416: 6 ([x.x.Nbp] 15); BM 82558: 4 (ca. Nbp 19); BM 78901: 8 (20.12.Nbp 17); BM 51607: 6' (11.2.[Nbp x]); BM 50398:3 (time of Nbp); BM 49959: 6 (time of Nbp); BM 51465: 6 (time of Nbk).

⁵³⁹ BM 63670: 7, 22 (Nbk 10 or later). In BM 72817: 8 (25.2.Nbk 17) one can read ^d*ziq-[qur]-ra-tú* or ^d*ziqu-ra-tú*.

⁵⁴⁰ MACGINNIS, *Afo* 50, p. 409: 4 (13.2.Nbp 17).

⁵⁴¹ BM 72768: 7 (24.8'.Nbk 0); BM 49940: 7 (4.2.Nbk 2); BM 49252:8 (2.[x].Nbk 8; reconstructed: ^d*zi[q-qur-rat]*); BEAULIEU 1990, no. 3: 8 (16.[x].^rNbk¹ 9); BM 50000: 7 (10.2'.Nbk 10); BM 49207: 7 ([x].10'.Nbk 13); BM 49488 (4.^r1'.Nbk 13); BM 70833 ([Nbk] 33); BM 53915: 7 (Nbk 0–7); BM 52741: 4 (Nbk 8–9); BM 50153: 5' (^d*zi[q-qur-rat]*); BM 67873: 4' (Nbk 10 or later); BM 50135: 5' (time of Nbk); BM 52323:6 (time of Nbk); BM 53264:3' (time of Nbk); In BM 51450+BM 52688: 7 (19.8.Nbp 20) it is uncertain if the name was preceded by ^r^d1 or by ^rÉ¹.

⁵⁴² BM 50212: 7 (2.[x].Nbp 17).

⁵⁴³ BM 51101: 7 (10+[x?].8. Nbp 19); BM 50520: 7 (13.2.Nbp 20); BM 51282, rev. 4 (time of Nbp); VS 6, 21: 7 (Nbk 1); YOS 17, 313: 7 ([x].8.Nbk 3); BM 49204: 7 ([x].1.²Nbk 6); BM 82562: 7 (8.7.Nbk 7); BM 49892: 8 (15.10.Nbk 8); VS 6, 32: 7 (20.3.Nbk 12); BM 49935: 7 (12.2.Nbk [x] É *Ziq-q[ur-rat]*); BM 50064: 7 (20.3.Nbk [x]); BM 49202: 8 ([x].7.Nbk [x]); BM 51529:6' (24.2' [Nbk x]); BM 52679: 7 ([x].2.Nbk [x]); BM 50156:7 and BM 51129: 8 (Nbk 0–7); BM 50831: 2' ([Nbk 0–7]); BM 50210: 7; BM 50492: 7; BM 69126: 5' and BM 73275: 3' (Nbk 10 or later); BM 51678: 6'; BM 51893: 5'; BM 52774:2' and BM 53113:4' (time of Nbk); BM 50562: 7 (the *Ziqqurat* following Marduk and presence of Gula suggest time of Nbk; note, however, the quite low position of Gula after Adad, Šala and deified Chariot). Maybe such a writing appears also in BM 49915: 7 (11.1.Nbp 17), but the tablet is preserved very badly (^rÉ¹ *zi[q-qur]-rat* or because of lack of space only (^rÉ¹ *zi[qu]-ratu*).

⁵⁴⁴ BM 79042: (8.1'.Nbk 4); BM 50146: 9 (11.[x].Nbk 4); BM 77940: 8 (13.4.Nbk 5); BM 50155: 7 ([x.x].Nbk 6); BM 53076: 7 (Nbk [0–7]); BM 52477: 1' and BM 51335: 2 ([Nbk 0–7]); BM 79059: 4 (3.11.<Nbk> 8); BM 49986: 7 (Nbk 10 or later).

determinative is missing and the writing *bīt Ziqqurat* instead of ^d*bīt Ziqqurat* is preferred. One can ask whether the latter two writings might be understood as an indication of the existence of a special chapel, where the model of the *Ziqqurat* was worshipped (see also below under 13 r.)

3. Bunene

If we leave aside Marduk and Šarpanītu, the “guests from Babylon” and the deified *Ziqqurat*, present only in the animal offering lists and in the *tabû* texts, the next (third) position⁵⁴⁵ belongs to Bunene. Only in two *tabû* texts (Nbk 312 and CT 55, 814) does he precede even Aya, and as the only god besides Šamaš he receives a new *hullānu* garment. Presumably his position in these two texts might be explained by the fact that they concern the garments issued for the *tabû* procession, when Bunene served as the driver of the processional chariot (*narkabtu*) of his father. Additionally, in the *tabû* texts the influential position of Bunene is expressed by the issue of almost all types of garments, from the most precious (*hullānu* and *salḫu eššu*, although not regularly) to the garments of lower quality. In accordance with his usually high position in animal offering lists, meat offerings of all categories were given to him, with one small difference, i.e. instead of fattened ox (*alpu šuklulu*) a young calf (*bīru*) was offered to him. See further below, pp. 194f.

4. Šarrat Sippar

The cult of Šarrat Sippar, the last in the first group of the most important gods and goddesses in the pantheon of Sippar according to the animal offering lists, was well established. As was already stated, in the *dullu pešû* texts she usually follows Bunene and precedes Anunītu. The same order we find also in the *tabû* texts, where she received regularly new *kibsu* and *kibsu labīri ana taḥapšu* and exceptionally even *salḫu labīri*. Evidently, her cult and her position as second in the group of goddesses, after Aya, was well established. Her title “Queen of Sippar” suggests that she was in some way connected with Šamaš, obviously “lord (*bēl*) of Sippar”, i.e. she was a hypostasis of the goddess Aya. The triad Šamaš, Aya and Šarrat Sippar can be compared to the relationship between Marduk, Šarpanītu and Ištar of Babylon in Babylon, and Nabû, Tašmētu and Nanaya in Borsippa,⁵⁴⁶ the “love triangles”, in which “Ištar and Nanaya fulfilled the role of hierodule or mistress of Marduk and Nabû, respectively, while they were at the same time theologically identified with their spouses Šarpanītu and

⁵⁴⁵ Occasionally in the *miḫšû tenû* lists he is preceded by the *mārāt Ebabbar*. For the possible explanation, see below.

⁵⁴⁶ Concerning the relationship between these goddesses, see BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 184.

Tašmētu.”⁵⁴⁷ Accordingly, in Sippar, the role of the “hierodule or mistress” must have been taken by Šarrat Sippar, i.e. her position is comparable to that of Ištar of Babylon and Nanaya in Borsippa. It means that the same theological pattern was in use, at least in northern Babylonia, and possibly in the whole country.

While in general the sequence of the gods presented above was the same in the all texts, irrespective of the time of their composition, the sequence and at the same time the positions of the gods which follows the first group changed.⁵⁴⁸

5. Anu and Enlil

As was stated already above, at the time of Nabopolassar the high position of Anu and Enlil (recognised as a unity because common offerings were given to them) should be stressed. In most of the texts from that period Anu and Enlil follow Šarrat Sippar, i.e. they open the second group of the gods and goddesses worshipped in Sippar.⁵⁴⁹ There are, however, a few texts in which Anu and Enlil are placed below Adad and Šala⁵⁵⁰ which suggests that already at that period some circles recognised Adad and Šala as more important than Anu and Enlil.

The situation was definitely clarified already at the very beginning of Nebuchadnezzar’s reign, because beginning with that time Adad and Šala regularly follow Šarrat Sippar. Already in BM 72768 written shortly after Nebuchadnezzar’s accession to the throne (24th day of Araḥsamna), Adad and Šala follow Šarrat Sippar, while Anu and Enlil are not present in the preserved text, which ends probably with *mārāt Ebabbar*.⁵⁵¹ This means that Anu and Enlil took the last position, and the same order is known also from BM 50146 from the fourth year of Nebuchadnezzar. Such a sequence

⁵⁴⁷ BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 116.

⁵⁴⁸ More about her, see below, p. 197f.

⁵⁴⁹ BM 78885 (6.1.<Nbp> 15); BM 78901 (20.12.Nbp 17); BM 50212 (2.[x].Nbp 1’7’); BM 51264 (11.1.Nbp 18; here after *mārāt Ebabbar*); RA 74, p. 59 (13.2.Nbp 19); VS 6, 213 (14.2.[Nbp] 20); BM 77503 (date broken). The same order is known also from the text dated to 8.7.Sši 0 (*Afo* 16, Taf. XVI, no. 3). The order in BM 82558 (concerning sweetcakes) is distorted, i.e. Anu and Enlil took the fourth position (after Šamaš, Aya and the *Ziqqurat*), while Bunene and Šarrat Sippar are mentioned only after the *mārāt Ebabbar*, the deified *ūmu*, *kittu* and *mīšaru*, the bed of (Šamaš), Marduk and Šarpanītu. Anu and Enlil before Bunene and Šarrat Sippar appear also in BM 52839 (frg. of text; the presence of Adad and Šala of Zabban and ^dIGI.DU and Kallat-ekur from Opis, suggest to date the text to the time of Nbp).

⁵⁵⁰ BM 51538 (Nbp 12); BM 51416 ([Nbp] 15); BM 49787 (Nbp 15); BM 49995 (Nbp 17); BM 78894 (Nbp 21) is broken, but Adad, who follows Šarrat Sippar, was placed before Anu and Enlil.

⁵⁵¹ The text is broken and the last certainly recognised name is Anunītu-ša-Sippar-Anunītu. In the next line only a tiny fragment of sign following the divine determinative is preserved (exactly three horizontal line), the most probable reading being ^dD[UMU. MÍ.MEŠ *Ē-babbar-ra*].

is exceptional, because in all texts written after the fourth year of Nebuchadnezzar the last position belongs to the Daughters of the Ebabbar.⁵⁵²

Because in an earlier time both Anu and Enlil and the *mārāt Ebabbar* took a much higher position with Anu and Enlil followed by *mārāt Ebabbar*, one can say that both entries were shifted together to the very end of the lists.⁵⁵³ With this change of place the quality and quantity of offerings were also reduced; according to BM 78885: 10 (fifteenth year of Nabopolassar) they received two lambs and one turtledove, in BM 50212: 11 (seventeenth year of Nabopolassar) one ox and two sheep; in RA 74, p. 59 (nineteenth year of Nabopolassar) two young calves (*bīru*) and one turtledove, while after the change only two *pargallu*-sheep (BM 50156: 16; BM 52210: 19; VS 6, 21: 14; VS 6, 29: 2). In BM 56266: 3 offerings for *šu-bat* ^d*A-num u* [^d*En-lil*] are mentioned.⁵⁵⁴

6. *mārāt Ebabbar*

In the animal offering lists from the time of Nabopolassar in the sequence Šarrat Sippar, Adad and Šala, Anu and Enlil and then *mārāt Ebabbar* is preferred,⁵⁵⁵ while in the last years of his rule Adad and Šala⁵⁵⁶ or Anu and Enlil and Adad and Šala⁵⁵⁷ are named after *mārāt Ebabbar*. Only in Falk-

⁵⁵² Already in BM 51101 (10[+x].8.Nbp 19) Anu and Enil take the penultimate position and are followed probably by *m[ārāte Ebabbar]*. The sequence in this text might suggest that already Nabopolassar decided to shift these gods to the very end of the list of the gods who received the animal offerings, and not Nebuchadnezzar as was suggested above. However, because of the many mistakes made by the scribe (Adad is followed by the second name, of which only small remnant are preserved, but the name Šala is excluded because the preserved sign is neither *ša* nor *la*; in the next line GIŠ.GIGIR is followed by two signs, i.e. ^r*ni*¹-*tu*₄ and the next line is entirely erased) we are not certain if also the sequence is not the result of scribal error.

⁵⁵³ The position of these gods in the list suggest a dating the text to the time of Nebuchadnezzar.

⁵⁵⁴ KENNEDY 1963. Cf also *OrSu* 50, no. 15: 5 (barley given for *sattukku* and *pappasu* for *šubat* Anu and Enlil (21.9.Nbn 9).

⁵⁵⁵ Such a sequence appears in BM 51538 and Mold. II 12 (both Nbp 12) and BM 49995 (11.1.Nbp 17). However, a similar sequence can be observed in two texts from the time of Nebuchadnezzar: BM 49940 (Nbk 2; but Anu and Enlil are missing and the Daughters are followed by Ištar-tašmê) and in Mold. II 49, dated according to DELAUNEY 1974, p. 138 to the forth year of Nabonidus, corrected by Bongenaar (*Ebabbar*, p. 233, n. 212) to N[*bk*] 4, while Da Riva (DA RIVA, AOAT 291, p. 279, and n. 669) opts for ^r*Nbp*¹, where only Adad is present and the Daughters are followed by the divine Chariot and Anunītu.

⁵⁵⁶ Such a sequence appears in BM 51538 (Nbp 12); BM 49787 (Nbp 15), BM 50212, BM 78901 (both Nbp 17) and BM 77503 (date broken). In BM 49995 (also Nbp 17) the sequence is a little different, i.e. Šarrat Sippar, Adad and Šala, Anu and Enlil and then *mārāt Ebabbar*. In BM 49424 (Nbp 18) *mārāt Ebabbar* follow Šarrat Sippar and then the text is broken.

⁵⁵⁷ BM 51264 (Nbp 18). Exceptional is BM 49878 (Nbp 15) where Adad and Šala preserved their place after Šarrat Sippar and are followed by *mārat Ebabbar* and Anu and Enlil.

ner, *Afo* 16, Taf. XVI, no. 3 and in BM 77950: 7' (dated to the twentieth year, most probably of Nabopolassar), both concerning only *pargallu*-offerings where the writing ^dGAŠAN.[ME(Š)] or ^dGAŠAN.ME⁵⁵⁸ is used, the older sequence, i.e. Šarrat Sippar, Adad and Šala, Anu and Enlil and then Bēlēte is preserved. In the texts dated to the first five years of Nebuchadnezzar the place of *mārāt Ebabbar* differs slightly from text to text, but they appear usually close to the end of the text.⁵⁵⁹ Only beginning in the sixth year of Nebuchadnezzar did *mārāt Ebabbar* take the ultimate position, almost always after Anu and Enlil.⁵⁶⁰ As mentioned above, the Daughters of the Ebabbar took also the last position in the texts in which they are named Bēlēte.⁵⁶¹

In the *miḥṣu tenū* lists⁵⁶² the entry enumerating garments for *mārāt Ebabbar* usually follows the entry with garments for Bunene, but sometimes this entry follows the entries with garments of Šamaš and Aya, i.e. it precedes the entries of Bunene as well Šarrat Sippar. Such a high position of the Daughters of Ebabbar in the *miḥṣu tenū* and in the *dullu pešū* texts contradicts their low position in the animal offering lists, where even at the time of Nabopolassar they took a position not only after Bunene and Šarrat Sippar but also after Anu and Enlil, while at the time of Nebuchadnezzar they were shifted to the last place in the lists. That the change was not only formal is clear from the quality of offerings. At the time of Nabopolassar they received usually two offerings, i.e. one *kalūmu* or *pargallu* and one bird (duck or turtledove); when they were shifted to the end of list they had to be satisfied with one sheep only.⁵⁶³ Their high position in the *miḥṣu tenū* lists, which include the set of garments for the gods mentioned in these texts, needs explanation. It is not excluded that a simple reason might be behind such a sequence. Firstly, for two goddesses two sets of garments were issued. Secondly, the comparison of the garments of those goddesses

⁵⁵⁸ For arguments supporting the idea that such a writing was used instead of *mārāt Ebabbar* (DUMU.MÍ.MEŠ É-babbar-ra), see below.

⁵⁵⁹ With few exceptions, where they preserved their much higher position: BM 49940 (Nbk 2): after Adad and Šala and before Ištar-tašmē; BM 50146 (Nbk 4): after Anunītu but before Anu and Enlil; BM 77940, (Nbk 5) after Adad, but before Ištar-tašmē and Anunītu. Cf. BM 72768 (Nbk 0) where they appear after Anunītu, but before Anu and Enlil (at preserved part of the text Anu and Enlil are missing, but if they were in the list, they followed the Daughters of Ebabbar).

⁵⁶⁰ BM 49204 (Nbk 6); BM 82562 (Nbk 7), BM 50000 (Nbk 10); BM 49956 (Nbk 13). The same sequence appears also in texts with broken year of Nebuchadnezzar: BM 49202, BM 50156, BM 52915 and with missing dating: BM 50153, BM 50210, BM 50393, which must be dated to the same period.

⁵⁶¹ BM 79059 dated to the eighth year of Nbk and BM 50135 (date broken, but the most probable dating is the ninth year of Nbk or a little later).

⁵⁶² *mārāt Ebabbar* are absent in the early *dullu pešū* lists.

⁵⁶³ The exception is BM 79059 where they received one fattened full-grown ox and one duck, the same offerings as all other gods except Šamaš and Aya, who received full offerings (see above).

with the garments of Adad, Šala and Gula makes it certain that the garments for the Daughters of Ebabbar were more expensive. They received more different kinds of garments, and at least some of them were manufactured using expensive coloured wool; compare, for example the quantity and quality of the *naḥlaptus*. The most likely criterion influencing the sequence in those texts was not the real position of the god in the pantheon but the real value of the garments enumerated in the text.

In a few *miḥṣu tenû* texts the same fourth position, instead of “the Daughters of Ebabbar,” is taken by *Bēlēte* (^dGAŠAN.MEŠ), *Ladies*,⁵⁶⁴ which provides a strong argument for recognising in the *Ladies* the Daughters of Ebabbar.⁵⁶⁵ The same situation appears in the animal offering lists. In almost all texts dated after the fifth year of Nebuchadnezzar the *mārāt Ebabbar* took the last position in the lists and received one young male sheep (*pargallu*). The same last position with one sheep is taken in BM 50135 by *Bēlēte* (^dGAŠAN.MEŠ), while the *mārāt Ebabbar* are missing. In other texts in which offerings for the *Bēlēte* are mentioned, they occupied a different position, but usually close to the end of the list with offerings typical for the *mārāt Ebabbar*.⁵⁶⁶ All this makes it certain that the writing ^dGAŠAN.MEŠ is interchangeable with the writing ^dDUMU.MÍ.MEŠ *É-babbar-ra*. A careful comparison of the garment texts with the writing GAŠAN.MEŠ reveals that in these texts such a writing was used when there was not enough place to write the more elaborate (and lengthy) ^dDUMU.MÍ.MEŠ *É-babbar-ra*. There is, however, one text, CT 55, 808, in which in l. 7 the garments for *Bēlēte* and in rev. 10’ for the *mārāt Ebabbar* are enumerated, which seems to contradict the identity of *Bēlēte* with *mārāt Ebabbar*. It should be noted, however, that in both lines 6 *naḥlaptus* are counted, i.e. the total amount of the *naḥlaptus* for the *mārāt Ebabbar* known from many *miḥṣu tenû* texts. The division in CT 55, 808 might be caused by the delivery of garments by the two unnamed bleachers (*ašlākus*); i.e. the text might be recognised as a “summary tablet” composed on the basis of two separate ones. The idea that the writing ^dGAŠAN.MEŠ replaces ^dDUMU.MÍ.MEŠ *Ebabbara* because of lack of space is supported by the analysis of the tablet. In line 7 the place is evidently too narrow to write the second version; in rev. 10’ the space is a little wider but still the last sign *ra* is written below the line (see Pinches’ copy).

⁵⁶⁴ BM 59963: 7 (after Aya); BM 61504: 7 (after Aya, before Bunene); CT 55, 808: 7; CT 55 812: 13 and maybe CT 55, 826: [4’] (after Aya). Cf also BM 73254: 4 (list of garments brought to Sippar by Itti-enŠu-Nabû).

⁵⁶⁵ Mentioned above. As it was already stressed in all three animal offering lists were GAŠAN.MEŠ are present, the DUMU.MÍ.MEŠ *É-babbar-ra* are absent.

⁵⁶⁶ Falkner, *AfO* 16, Taf. XVI, no. 3 (penultimate position between Anunitu and the deified Chariot); BM 77950 (after Šala, before deified Chariot; *pargallu* list dated to [Nbp³] 20); BM 79059 (last position after Adad and Šala dated <Nbk> 8) and BM 50615 (after Gula).

The garment texts never specify how many Daughters of Ebabbar were worshipped in Sippar, but in the votive and cultic explanatory texts in the majority of Babylonian temples two Divine Daughters are mentioned.⁵⁶⁷ In Sippar these were Mami and Nin-egina.⁵⁶⁸ This opinion is supported by the fact that such items for Daughters of Ebabbar as 2 *salḫus*, 6 *naḥlaptus*, 2 *paršīgus* and 2 *kusītus* can be divided only by 2.⁵⁶⁹

7. Adad and Šala⁵⁷⁰

In the animal offering lists from the time of Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar the position of the couple Adad and Šala, the gods worshipped in Sippar since time immemorial, changed at least three times. Until the very beginning of the seventeenth year of Nabopolassar they took the position after Šarrat Sippar and were followed by Anu and Enlil and *mārāt* Ebabbar. However, in the same year the new order begins, according to which Adad and Šala are shifted after *mārāt* Ebabbar.⁵⁷¹ At the very beginning of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar Anu and Ninlil and the *mārāt* Ebabbar were shifted to the very end of the lists, Adad and Šala took again the position after Šarrat Sippar. The change is reflected in some lists also in the quality of offerings. In RA 74, p. 59 (nineteenth year of Nabopolassar), where they followed Anu and Enlil and *mārāt* Ebabbar, they received two calves and one duck; in VS 6, 21 (first year of Nebuchadnezzar) one young *pargallu*-sheep and two ducks. In VS 6, 54⁵⁷² where the gods are treated separately,

⁵⁶⁷ GEORGE 2000, p. 295. Only in two texts are *Bēlēte* (GAŠAN.MEŠ) also known from the texts from Uruk. According to BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, “the Goddesses” might be “a collective term for the minor female deities worshipped in the Eanna temple, such as Ahlamayītu, Anunītu, Bēlet-balāṭi, Kurunnītu, Kanisurra, and a few others” (p. 179, and n. 1, where a different possibility is considered, i.e. that “GAŠAN.MEŠ” is a group of nameless goddesses, such as is perhaps mentioned in the ritual BM 32516+BM 41239, obv. 3 ^d9-INNIN.MEŠ “the Nine Goddesses/Ladies”, see also p. 309). However, the fact that also in Uruk texts the garments for “Ladies” can be divided by the numeral 2 suggests strongly that GAŠAN.MEŠ is a term for *mārāt* Eanna, who are not mentioned at all (!) in BEAULIEU’s book.

⁵⁶⁸ CAVIGNEAUX, *Textes scolaires*, p. 173; GEORGE (see note above).

⁵⁶⁹ In her commentary to BM 50501 Da Riva notes that three cakes were offered to the *mārāt* Ebabbar, while two for two “Daughters” are expected (DA RIVA, AOAT 291, p. 289). The same quantity appears also in BM 82558: 6. However, Da-Riva did not note that also other gods received different number of cakes, i.e. Šamaš and Aya received five cakes each of each category, the deified *Ziqqurat* and Bunene two cakes of each category, while Šarrat Sippar received six cakes of each category, the highest number in both texts. As we see in these texts there is no correlation between the number of gods and the quantity of offerings.

⁵⁷⁰ Concerning their temple called *é.gi₆.par*, and the prebends for the couple, see JURSA, *Archiv*, pp. 69–71.

⁵⁷¹ Such an order is observed in BM 50212 (2.[x].Nbp 1’7’); BM 78901 (20.12.Nbp 17); RA 74, p. 59 (Nbp 19); VS 6, 213 ([Nbp] 20).

⁵⁷² The date is broken, but the text has to be dated to the very beginning of the reign of the new king because Anu and Enlil are already at its very end.

the offerings are richer, i.e. Adad received one young *pargallu*-sheep, one lamb, a goose, and a duck while Šala received one young *pargallu*-sheep, one lamb and one duck. In later times, after the changes, which took place in the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar, they usually received only two different types of sheep (*pargallu* and NINDA = *kalūmu*) and one goose. The exception is BM 79090 (20.'2'.Nbk 8) where they received two *pargallu*-young sheep, two *kalūmus*, two geese and two ducks. Beginning from the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar Ninurta and Gula (or later Gula alone) took the position after Šarrat Sippar and before Adad and Šala with the exception of the aforementioned BM 79090 (the earliest text mentioning Ninurta and Gula after the re-establishment of their cult), where Adad and Šala still precede them.

The same order (Gula followed by Adad and Šala) appears in the *miḫṣu tenū*, which might be explained by the fact that the garments of Gula included one element more, i. e. two *salḫus*, while Adad and Šala, treated separately in these lists, received only one *salḫu* each. There are, however, a few such texts, dated to the time of Nabonidus, in which Adad and Šala again preceded Gula,⁵⁷³ which might be an indication of a process of regaining her previously higher position. The change was, however, not conclusive because in many other texts, also dated to the time of Nabonidus, Gula still precedes Adad and Šala.

8. The deified Chariot of Šamaš

The cult of the deified Chariot of Šamaš⁵⁷⁴ is known already from a text dated to the time of Nabopolassar.⁵⁷⁵ The position of the deified Chariot was at that time quite high, i.e. in the animal offering lists it usually follows Adad and Šala.⁵⁷⁶ Also at the time of Nebuchadnezzar, when the new cult of Ištar-tašmê and Nanaya was installed, the deified Chariot precedes

⁵⁷³ BM 84490 ([Nb]n 1); BM 62582+ (Nbn 10); BM 74440 (Nbn 10); BM 59723 (Nbn 11); Nbn 1015 (Nbn 16); CT 55, 806 ([Nbn]); BM 67160 (Camb 5); BM 72875 ([Dar?] 9); BM 58641 (date missing) BM 66817 (date missing); BM 75552 (= Str II 152/4) (date missing); CT 55, 812 (date missing).

⁵⁷⁴ Three texts clearly state that the offerings were destined for the chariot of Šamaš: BM 72768: 12 (GIŠ.GIGIR¹ [šá^d]UTU) dated to the 24th Araḫsamna of the accession year of Nbk; BM 51282: 7' (GIŠ.GIGIR^dUTU) and BM 82558:13 (GIŠ.GIGIR ša^dUTU; the text concerning sweetcakes).

⁵⁷⁵ BM 51538 (twelfth year); BM 50212: 14 (17th year); BM 49877 (fifteenth year); and BM 78901: 17 (seventeenth year); BM 51264 (eighteenth year); RA 74, p. 59 (nineteenth year); BM 77950 ([Nbp] 20). Cf. also A/O 16, Taf. XVI, no. 3: 13 (dated to 8.7. accession year of Sin-šar-iškun).

⁵⁷⁶ This make it possible to restore the broken name in VS 6, 29: 14 as ^d[GIGIR], similar to BM 49202: 11. However, if *marāt Ebabbar* and Anu and Enlil are on the list, they also took a higher position than the deified Chariot.

not only these goddesses but also Anunītu-ša-Sippar-Anunītu.⁵⁷⁷ BM 62600 suggests that the Chariot was probably used on the 4th day of Nisannu, as one *sūtu* of sesame (oil?) was destined for this day.⁵⁷⁸

Similar to the deified *Ziqqurat*, also the deified chariot is preceded by three different determinatives:

⁵⁷⁷ The exception is BM 78901, where the deified Chariot took the penultimate position and is preceded by Anunītu-ša-Sippar-Anunītu, who in all other lists follows the Chariot. Also in BM 54044 the deified Chariot took the same penultimate position but the sequence in this fragment is atypical because it lacks Šala, and Adad is followed by Anu and Enlil, and *mārāt Ebabbar*, and only after follows the deified Chariot. Such a sequence suggests that the text should be dated to the time of Nabopolassar, which is supported by the lack of Ištar-tašmê and Nanaya of Dur-Galzu.

⁵⁷⁸ BM 62600 (82-9-18, 2569)

4.3 × 3.6 cm

1. 5 *ma-ši-ḥu* ŠE.GIŠ.Ì *sat-tuk*
2. *ša* ^dUTU *ša* [UD.x.KÁM MU.7.KAM]
3. ^{md}AG-I LUGAL TIN.[TIR.KI]
4. EN 1 BÁN 3 *qa sat-tuk ša* ^dA-a
5. 1 BÁN *a-na ú-di-e ša lu-bu-uš*
6. 1 BÁN *a-na* ^dGIŠ.GIGIR UD.4.KÁM
7. *ša* ITI.BÁR 3 *qa*
8. *a-na si-il-tu*₄ [x x x]
9. ^dIM
10. PAP 7 *ma-ši-ḥu* ŠE.GIŠ.Ì
11. *a-na* ^mPu-di-ja SUMⁱⁿ
12. ITI.ŠE UD.30.KÁM
13. MU.6.KÁM ^{md}AG-^rIT
14. LUGAL TIN.T[IR.KI]

5 *mašīhu*-contai[ners of sesame (oil?) for the regular offerings of Šamaš for [nth day, seventh year] of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, including 1 *sūtu*, 3 *qa* (for) the regular offering of Aya; 1 *sūtu* for the equipment for the wardrobe (?); 1 *sūtu* for the (deified) Chariot (for) the 4th day of Nisannu; 3 *qa* for the *siltu*-offerings [for the god x] and Adad. Total 7 *mašīhu*-measures of sesame (oil?) were given to Pudiya.

Month of Addaru, 30th day, sixth year of Naboni[dus], king of Baby[lon].

Because according to AO 6459: 13 (*Racc*, p. 89) the *guqqū*-offerings were presented after the *lubuštu*-ceremony and after the presentation of *siltu*-offerings, it is not excluded that in l. 5 of our text we have to read *lu-bu-uš-<tu>*, and translate “for the implements (used during) the *lubuštu*-ceremony” Pudiya, the oil-presser, is a well-known person, see BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 281. Our text is presently the latest dated evidence for his activity. The text is also extremely interesting from the point of view of metrology, because it suggests that the capacity of one *mašīhu*-container was here equal to 7.5 *qa*. The existence of *mašīhu*-containers of non-standardised capacity is also suggested by Nbn 1094: 1: 6 *ma-ši-ḥi* PI 4^{1/2} *qa* ŠE.GIŠ.Ì, i.e. “6 *mašīhus* (containing one) PI (and) 1/8 (PI)”, see CAD M/I 366, i.e. one *mašīhu* contained less than 7 *qa* (exactly 6.7 *qa*). Note that in BM 51080, an animal offering list dated 10th Ayaru Nbp 11 concerning 2 (*gu*₄ *šuk-lu-lu*) UD.10.KÁM ³*gu-qu-ú ša lu-ub-bu-uš-tu*₄, *lubbūštu* means “unshorn” (cf. AHw 560 b and CAD L 231 b), i.e. in this text there is no connection with the *lubuštu* ceremony. Such a meaning of *lubbūštu* is suggested also by BM 60833 where among 13 sheep which were bought for silver, 12 are described as *gaz-za-ú-tu* and additionally one as *lu-ub-bu-uš-šu*, total 14 sheep *ana sat-tuk*.

- GIŠ.GIGIR, used mostly at the time of Nabopolassar, more seldom also at the time of Nebuchadnezzar⁵⁷⁹;
- ^dGIGIR,⁵⁸⁰ after the accession of Nebuchadnezzar;
- ^dGIŠ.GIGIR,⁵⁸¹ except one text dated to the time of Nabopolassar, all other texts are dated to the time of Nebuchadnezzar and one to the time of Nabonidus.⁵⁸² There is no doubt that the use of determinatives is not accidental. It is clear that although already at the time of Nabopolassar animal offerings were presented before Šamaš's chariot, it was still treated as a sacral object, "deified" only at the time of Nebuchadnezzar.

9. Ištar-tašmê and Nanaya

Ištar-tašmê and Nanaya do not appear in the animal offering lists dated to the time of Nabopolassar; the earliest mention is dated to the first year of Nebuchadnezzar (VS 6, 21: 11–12). This means that their cult was introduced to Sippar at the very beginning of the rule of that king. If they are present in the particular animal offering list they follow the deified Chariot of Šamaš, and if this is missing, they follow Adad and Šala. Two texts, the above mentioned BM 49940 (second year of Nebuchadnezzar) and BM 77940 (fifth year (of Nebuchadnezzar)), mention only Ištar-tašmê, which suggests that Nanaya was sometimes recognised as less important than Ištar-tašmê. Nbn 929, the only text mentioning the chapel of Ištar-tašmê,⁵⁸³ concerns the issue of 2.5 garments made of cotton (*kitinnû*) and additionally 10 shekels of silver with the authorisation of Bēl-aḥḥē-iqīša, then *qīpu* of the Ebabbar temple. The personal involvement of the *qīpu* raises the

⁵⁷⁹ BM 51538: 4' (20.[x].Nbp 12); BM 50733: 11 (12.2.<Nbp> 13); MACGINNIS, *Afo* 50, p. 409: 11 (13.2.Nbp 17); BM 78901: 17 (20.12.Nbp 17); BM 51264: 13' (11.1.Nbp 18); *RA* 74, p. 59: 13 (14.2.Nbp 19); BM 51101: 11 ([x].8.Nbp 19); VS 6, 213: 13 (14.2.[Nbp?] 20); BM 50520: 14 (GIŠ.[GI]GIR; 13.2.Nbp 20); BM 77950: 8' ([Nbp] 20); BM 52839: 9' (time of Nabopolassar); BM 62709: 7' (time of Nabopolassar); BM 49207: 13 ([x].9'.Nbk 13); BM 50398: 11 (GIŠ.GI[GIR]) date missing but the position of Anu and Enlil suggests strongly the time of Nabopolassar); BM 50893: 10' ([Nbp] 19); BM 51291: 8' (GIŠ.[GIGIR]; time of Nbp); BM 73275: 9' (time of Nbk); BM 73339: 6' (time of Nbk); BM 82886: 12 (IGI GI]Š, but IGI ^dGI]Š is also not excluded; Nbk 10 or later); BM 50228: 8' (ca. Nbp – before Nbk 8).

⁵⁸⁰ YOS 17, 313: 12 ([x].8.Nbk 3); BM 50155: 12 (Nbk 6); BM 82562: 12 (8.7.Nbk 7); VS 6, 29: 14 (^d[GIGIR]; 19.8.Nbk 8); BM 50000: 13 (10.2'.Nbk 10); BM 49202: 11 (time of Nbk); BM 49986: 14 (Nbk 8 or later); BM 50153: 11' (^dG[IGIR]; Nbk 10 or later); BM 50562: 12 (Nbk 10 or later); BM 84186: 11 (date impossible to establish).

⁵⁸¹ BM 50212: 14 (2.[x].Nbp 1'7'); BM 79090: 12 (20.2'.Nbk 8); VS 6, 32 (20.3.Nbk 12); BM 70833: 9' ([Nb]k 33); BM 54044: 6'; BM 50156: 12; BM 50163: 13; BM 50210: 14; BM 53076: 12 (^dGIŠ.[GIGIR]); BM 59683: (Nbk 10 or later); BM 83935: 2' (time of Nbk); BM 62600: 6 (Nbn 6).

⁵⁸² The list is based on the animal offering lists, but it would be interesting to compare it with data from different types of texts.

⁵⁸³ Noted first by BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 230, n. 202.

possibility that her temple was regularly supplied from the revenue of the Ebabbar household.

Because the geographical name Dūr-Galzu follows the second name it is not clear whether only Nanaya or also Ištar-tašmê came from the same cultic centre. A similar situation is known from Uruk (e.g. Gula and ^dIGI.DU), explained by Beaulieu by the idea that they both resided in the Eanna temple, occupying separate chapels.⁵⁸⁴ This does not resolve the question of why they were paired, if they indeed occupied separate chapels. Additionally, in Sippar the issue of common offerings for Ištar-tašmê and Nanaya, i.e. for two goddesses (and not for a couple as in the case of Adad and Šala) suggests that their relation was closer than being resident within the Ebabbar temple. Three different possibilities might be taken into account, i.e. that they were paired because of their similar cultic function, that they shared the same chapel in the Ebabbar temple, or that both came from the same cultic centre, Dūr-Galzu, and for this reason they shared the same cultic chapel.⁵⁸⁵ BM 75804 (= Bertin 1324): 8 provides a clear answer, since only ^dIštar ^{giš}-TUK ^{ša} ^{uru}KUR-TI is mentioned.⁵⁸⁶

10. Anunītu-ša-Sippar-Anunītu

Anunītu-ša-Sippar-Anunītu is present in all categories of text, which proves that her cult was well established at Sippar. There are, however, some important differences in the place of Anunītu in the animal offering lists at the time of Nabopolassar compared with later, at the time of Nebuchadnezzar. During the first period she usually took the last position,⁵⁸⁷ which suggests that at that time the indigenous gods were preferred. When, at the very beginning of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, the decision to move Anu and Enlil and *mārāt Ebabbar* to the end of lists was made, Anunītu took

⁵⁸⁴ BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 274.

⁵⁸⁵ Concerning this cultic centre, read probably Dūr-Galzu (sum. KUR.TI^{ki}), see ZADOK, RGTC 8, 121 and JURSA, *Archiv*, p. 95, who placed its territory north of Sippar and north of Bīr-ili. The writing with Dūr at the beginning of the name, except for VS 6, 21: 12 appears again in BM 73339: 7'-8': IGI ^dIštar GIŠ.TU[K u] ^(d)M[a-na-a] ⁸ša ^{uru}BAD-[gal-zu]. Cf. also BM 60999: 5 (bronze) ⁴a-na i-ni-e ša ^dIštar GIŠ.TUK.KI ^{5u} ^dNa-na-a ša ^{uru}BAD-ga-za.

⁵⁸⁶ Cited by JURSA, *Tempelzehnt*, p. 109, n. 338. One can add now BM 77940: 12-13 (IGI ^dIštar GIŠ.TUK / ¹ša¹ KUR.TI.KI! (the last sign is qa). Concerning economic relations between the Ištar-tašmê temple and the Ebabbar temple, see JURSA, AfO Beih. 25, pp. 16, 166 and 175 (concerning the peasants of the Ištar-tašmê temple working in the Ebabbar temple). See also BM 61065 (82-9-18, 1041) dated 26.3.Camb 3, concerning dates ²a-na É ^dIštar GIŠ.TUK ina ŠUⁱⁱ ^{3m}Ša-du-nu A ^{md}UTU-TINⁱⁱ ⁴šu-bul, "brought for the temple of Ištar-tašmê by Šadūnu, son of Šamaš-uballit." He might be identical with Šadūnu/Šamaš-uballit/Šumu-libši from Cyr 341: 15 (27.4.Cyr 9), see BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 496.

⁵⁸⁷ Only rarely is she followed by such deified powers as *ūmu*, *kittu*, *mišāru* and *dayānu* (AfO 16, Taf. XVI, no. 3 and in VS 6, 213; in the last one also by gods from Zabban and Opis).

the place before them. However, the position before her was taken by the newly introduced cult of Ištar-tašmê and Nanaya of Dūr-Galzu. Also *tabû* texts suggest that her position was quite low, because only two modest garments, *kibsu labîri ana taḥapšu* and *kibsu labîri*, were issued for her,⁵⁸⁸ but she always precedes Adad and Šala, who in these texts took the penultimate and ultimate place. The possibility that she strengthened her position, at least in comparison with Adad and Šala and Gula (see below), is suggested by the *dullu pešû* and the *miḥšu tenû* lists, where she follows Šarrat Sippar and precedes Adad and Šala and Gula. The regular presence of Anunîtu in the *miḥšu tenû* and in the *dullu pešû* lists, and the existence of separate *dullu pešû* texts including only her garments, suggest an increase in the goddess popularity. It may result from the fact, that her cult concerned the sphere that was not in the scope of other gods worshipped in Sippar. Maybe an influence on Anunîtu's position in Sippar at the time of Nabonidus came from the fact that her father was Sin,⁵⁸⁹ elevated to the highest position in the Babylonian pantheon by Nabonidus.⁵⁹⁰

11. Gula and Ninurta

The new regulation concerning the cult of Gula⁵⁹¹ was the last change in the cult of Sippar made by Nebuchadnezzar during the first decade of his reign. As was already established by Bongenaar, Gula never appears in the animal offering lists, nor in the garment texts earlier than the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar,⁵⁹² but this cannot be interpreted as evidence that her cult was completely forgotten in Sippar. At least in one text – BM 50501 – dated to the eighteenth year of Nabopolassar⁵⁹³ sweetcakes were offered to

⁵⁸⁸ In BM 75848 (= Str II 176/3) the scribe most probably made a mistake and the garments included in the group *kibsu eššu* have to be shifted to last group *kibsu labîri*.

⁵⁸⁹ CT 34, Pl. 36–37: 70–72: ^dA-nu-ni-tu₄ GAŠAN GAL-tú ma-ḥar ^d30 AD a-li-di-ka ⁷¹SIG₅.MEŠ É-sag-ila É-zi-da É-giš-nu-gal É-babbar-ra É-an-na ⁷²É-ul-maš šu-bat DINGIR-ti-šú-nu GAL.MEŠ liš-šá-kin šap-tu-ka, “Anunîtu, the great lady, may blessings for Esagila, Ezida, Egišnugal, Ebabbara, Eanna, Eulmaš, the dwellings of their great gods be on your lips in the presence of Sin, the father, your begetter,” see VAB IV, p. 250f. and FALKENSTEIN/VON SODEN, SAHG, p. 290, no. 37 (translation only). See also JURSA, *Archiv*, p. 72 where the first document concerning the prebendary service for Sin in Sippar is discussed (BM 42408, published there pp. 177–178 and Taf. XXIX). For the additional text mentioning the animal offerings for Sin, see below.

⁵⁹⁰ A special animal offering called *maḥḥuru* was served for her on 25th Tēbētu (Cyr 136: 4–5); according to Dar 285: 9–10 barely for producing flour for *maḥḥuru* offering for Anunîtu was delivered. The text was written on 21⁷¹ [collation needed] Tēbētu, i.e. it is not excluded that barley was destined for offering served two days earlier, see also JOANNÈS 1992, p. 167 and BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 122, n. 135. An additional text mentioning *maḥḥuru* offering for Anunîtu was identified by R. Tarasewicz. For further observations concerning her position, see below, pp. 196f.

⁵⁹¹ Generally about her cult in Mesopotamia, see FRANKENA, *RLA* 3, pp. 695–696, and SEIDL, *idem*, p. 697, about her presentation in arts.

⁵⁹² BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 233.

⁵⁹³ Edited by DA RIVA, AOAT 291, pp. 287–289.

Gula. Her last position in this text and her absence in the similar document BM 82558⁵⁹⁴ shows that her cult was in deep crisis and her temple ruined. The restoration of her temple, which took place in the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar,⁵⁹⁵ gave an opportunity to renovate her cult, re-establish her meat offerings and assign her a new, more important place among the gods worshipped in the city.⁵⁹⁶ Her elevation to the first position in the second group of gods is also supported by the *tabû* texts. First, in two *tabû* texts from the reign of Nabonidus (BM 75848 = Str II 176/3) and CT 55, 814) she received a new *salhu*, an item of high quality. Second, in Nbk 312 she received a new *kibsu*, following directly Bunene and Šarrat Sippar, and a *kibsu labiri*, when again she follows Bunene and Šarrat Sippar and precedes Marduk and the deified *Ziqqurat*. It seems that such a distinctive position, especially in Nbk 312, might be connected with the re-establishment of her cult only a quarter of a century earlier and with a particularly favourable, personal attitude of Nebuchadnezzar to Gula.⁵⁹⁷

It is interesting to note that in a few texts dated to the eighth and ninth years, Gula is paired with her husband Ninurta,⁵⁹⁸ but from the tenth year Ninurta disappears from these lists,⁵⁹⁹ which surely reflects the extinction

⁵⁹⁴ This text was not dated but because it is clearly parallel to BM 50501 a similar time of composition is suggested.

⁵⁹⁵ The question will be discussed in detail in my *Building Activity of the Neo-Babylonian Kings* (in preparation).

⁵⁹⁶ Probably after rebuilding her temple a separate box for offerings with a guard was established. At least one such person, i.e. Gimillu ¹⁰*maššar quppi ša bût* ^dGula is known, see BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 109; add also BM 62914: 3–5 (¹⁰EN.NUN / *qu-up-pu šá É* / ^dGu-la) dated to 11.8.Nbn 2. His ration (*kurummatu*) of 1 kur of barley for two consecutive months (Ulūlu and Tašritu) suggests that his daily diet comprised 3 *qa* of barley and 3 *qa* of dates, see ZAWADZKI 1981).

⁵⁹⁷ VOIGTLANDER, p. 130.

⁵⁹⁸ BM 79090: 11 (IGI ^dMAŠ [*u* ^dGu-la]; 20.2⁷.Nbk 8); VS 6, 29: 10–11 (IGI ^dNi[n-urt]*a u* [^dGu-la] ¹¹šá É-ul-la; 19.8.Nbk 8); BM 49252: 11–12 (IGI ^dNin-urta *u* [^dGu-la]; ¹²šá É-ul-la; 2.[x].Nbk 8); BM 50135: 9²–10⁷ (IGI ^dMAŠ ¹⁰IGI ^dGu-la; 8.4.<Nbk> 9); BM 77818: 11–12 (I[GI ^d]Nin¹-urta ¹²IGI [^dG]u-la; 13.4.Nbk 9); BM 49986: 10–11 (IGI ^dNin-urta *u* [^dGu-la] ¹¹šá É-ul-la (date broken; probably the eighth or ninth year of Nbk). GEORGE, *House Most High*, p. 155 (no. 1067) reads in VS 6, 29 ^dG[u-l]*a u* [^d...] because in his opinion there is not enough space to read ^dNi[n-urt]*a*. BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 232, n. 208 expressed his doubt about this reading because the second sign “resembles [I]B more than [I]a.” However, because the first name is followed by a second one, the only possible reading is ^dNi[n-urt]*a u* [^dGu-la] as suggested above.

⁵⁹⁹ In the following lists Gula appears without her husband and the offerings are accordingly only for her (half of the amount previously given for her and Ninurta or, later, three different types of offering, similar to the offerings of other gods of the second group): BM 79059: 6 (3.11.<Nbk> 8; note that this list is atypical because also Marduk and Šarpanītu and Ištar-šamê and Nanaya, Anunītu, deified Chariot are missing); BM 50000: 10 (^dGu-la; 10.2⁷.Nbk 10); BM 49488: 11 (4.1¹.Nbk 13; the name of Gula is reconstructed but certain); BM 49207 (^dGu-la šá É-ul-la¹; [x].9⁷.Nbk 13); BM 49956: 10 (^d[Gu]-la; 20.[x].Nbk 13); BM 72817: 11 (^dG[u-l]*a*; 25.2.Nbk 17); BM 70833: 6 (^dGu-la É-ul-la; [Nbk] 31). The presence of Gula without Ninurta and other

of his cult. Could we interpret this fact as a misinterpretation of the king's will, who wished to elevate to a higher position Gula, but not her husband Ninurta?

The *dullu pešû* and *miḥṣu tenû* texts dated to the time of Nabonidus and later⁶⁰⁰ suggest that at that time Adad and Šala took precedence over Gula. A text dated to the thirtieth year of an unnamed king attest to the existence of her box supervised by Pir'u.⁶⁰¹

Everything that has been said above suggests that Nebuchadnezzar was deeply interested in the cult of Sippar and instituted many important changes. At the very beginning of his reign Anu and Enlil and *mārāt Ebabbar* lost their quite high positions. Because all texts mentioning meat and food offerings for the four divine powers of Šamaš (*ūmu*, *kittu*, *mīšaru* and *dayānu*)⁶⁰² and for the bed of Šamaš are dated to the time of Nabopolassar, it seems that Nebuchadnezzar eliminated these offerings for the above mentioned powers at the very beginning of his reign. An exception was made for the cultic Chariot of Šamaš, for whom meat offerings were served also at the time of Nebuchadnezzar. Probably at the same time a new cult of Ištar and Nanaya of Dūr-Galzu was introduced into the cultic

criteria, e.g. the type of offerings allows to date all the below quoted texts to the time of Nbk, year 10 or later: BM 50153: 8' (^dG[u-la]); BM 50210: 10–11 (^dGu-la ¹¹šá Ê-ul-la); BM 59683: 6' (^dGu-la); BM 62709: 4' (^dGu-la šá Ê-ul-lu); BM 63600: 4', 19' (^dGu-la); BM 67873: 7'–8' (^dGu-la ⁸Ê-ul-la); BM 68725: 11 (^dGu-la šá Ê-ul-la); BM 73275: 6' (^dGu-la šá Ê-ul-la¹); BM 69126: 8' (^dGu-la šá Ê-ul-la); BM 82886: 9' (^dGu-la šá Ê-ul-lu).

⁶⁰⁰ We have noted the lack of the animal offering lists from the time of Nabonidus, comparable to that from the time of Nebuchadnezzar. Such texts as Nbn 699 (13.2.Nbn 13) and CT 55, 664 (13.2.Nbn [x]; not Nbk as in BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 233, n. 212) suggest that Nabonidus introduced a new organisation for supplying the gods with the animal offerings. In Nbn 699: 15 instead of ^dUTU read ^d<AMAR>.UTU (cf. CT 55, 664: 12).

⁶⁰¹ BM 65355 (92-9-18, 5340)

4.4 × 2 cm

1. [x KÙ]R ŠE.BAR ŠUKU.HI.A

2. šá ^mPir-'u ^{li}ma-aš-ri

3. ^{gi}qup-pu šá Ê

4. ^dGu-la

rev.5. a-na ^{mdr}AG¹-MU-MU

6. ŠEŠ-šú SUM^{na}

7. ITI.ŠE U₄.15.KÂM

8. MU.30.KÂM

x kur of barley

which Pir'u, the guardian

of the cash box of the temple

of Gula,

has given to Nabû-šum-iddin,

his brother.

Month of Addaru, 15th day,

30th year (of Nebuchadnezzar).

Pir'u is the third known guardian of the cash box of the Gula temple, except for Gimillu and Kurbanni/Saggillu (see BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 109). The dating of the text to the time of Nebuchadnezzar (not to the time of Darius I) is suggested by the script and the shape of the tablet. It is not excluded that Pir'u should be identified with Šamaš-per'u-ušur ša muḥḫi inaššar, mentioned in CT 22, 165/Nbn 574: 8 (BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 111). The temple of Gula (Ê ^dME.ME) is mentioned in BM 83932: 6 (after Ê ^dAMAR.UTU, l. 2; Ê ^dA-nu-ni-tu₄, l. 4, before [Ê] ^dIM, l. 7).

⁶⁰² See below, p. 184 and n. 612.

ceremonies of the city of Sippar. It seems obvious that such changes were impossible without the approval of Nebuchadnezzar, who was deeply interested in the cult at Sippar. However, because the cult of Gula was reorganised only in the eighth year, and Ninurta removed from the list after the ninth year, it appears that the changes have to be recognised as a progressive process and not as the accomplishment of a deliberate and carefully prepared project.

The changes in the animal offering lists reflect most probably important changes, not only in the cult in Sippar, but also in the region surrounding that most important regional cultic center. It is obvious that animal offerings for Ištar-tašmê and Nanaya, the goddesses from Dur-Galzu, and for ^qIGL.DU from the city of (Kal)bīnu were served from the income of the Ebabbar temple. As was suggested above, the cult of the city of Baš/Šapazzu was also maintained from the revenues of the Ebabbar temple. One can say that a regional system based on the resources of the Ebabbar temple was organised, similar to the system recognised by Beaulieu in the south of the country with its centre at Uruk.⁶⁰³ The animal offering lists demonstrate the strong influence of the king, not only on the material protection of the cult, but also on the position of particular gods in the local pantheon.

12. Immertu

In the *tabû* texts, in the entry concerning garments called *salḫu labīri ana taḥapšu*, Aya is quite often followed by ^d*Im-mer-tu₄/tū*. In his recently published book Schwemer recognised this as the name of a goddess and noted its similarity with the divine name *Immeriya*.⁶⁰⁴ The latter is known from the inscription on a statue found in Elam recognised as a part of the booty of the Elamite king Untaš-napiriša, and from the cultic text *Šurpu*. As noted by Schwemer, the *Šurpu* composition makes it possible to treat Immeriya as a by-form (Gleichklang) of M/wēr. Schwemer is inclined to identify Immeriya with the above-mentioned Neo-Babylonian Immertu who, in his opinion, is also a goddess. Such a possibility seems to me highly doubtful because in all except one *tabû* text from Sippar, Immertu follows Aya, taking in fact the place of Bunene, while in one *tabû* text and in many other garment texts Aya is followed by Bunene. For this reason the more acceptable interpretation seems to me to recognise Immertu as a god – a hypostasis of Bunene or a different deity with a function similar to Bunene.

Immertu is absent in Nbk 312, the earliest *tabû* text, while all the presently known texts mentioning Immertu are dated to the reign of Nabonidus and Cambyeses. Although it seems very risky to draw any conclusions from

⁶⁰³ BEAULIEU 1991 and BEAULIEU 1998; see also KESSLER 2004, p. 246 and 250f.

⁶⁰⁴ SCHWEMER 2001, p. 36, n. 180.

only a few dated texts, it cannot be excluded that the cult of Immertu reached Sippar in a later period, perhaps as a result of Nabonidus' contact with the West or during his stay in Tema. The *tabû* texts suggest clearly that the position of Immertu was equal to that of Bunene and higher than that of Šarrat Sippar and other indigenous gods of Sippar, certainly much higher than that of Adad. For that reason any relation of Immertu to Adad seems to me improbable.

13. Other minor gods worshipped in Sippar

- a.) One of the lesser known is the deity named ^dNin-ŠA. In addition to the already known *tabû* text CT 55, 814 and the fragmentary *miḥṣû tenû* CT 55, 817⁶⁰⁵ I have identified the name also in BM 79651: 12⁶⁰⁶ (building activity), BM 70309: 7 (see below) and in BM 74324: 9 (*dullu pešû*). According to An = Anu III 129 (see J. Finkelstein, *RA* 67 (1973) 113ff.) ^dNin-ŠA was the *sukkal-maḥ* of Šamaš and is glossed there pi-rig. He is also known from the Late-Babylonian copy of the so-called Weidner God List published by Cavigneaux (1981, p. 84), while in the Weidner God List (KAV 63, edited by Weidner, *AJK* 2 (1924–25)), p. 12 the name is written Nin-UG and glossed *mu-^rû-[tu]*, “death.”⁶⁰⁷
- BM 70309, dated to the accession year of a king whose name is not preserved, is a fragment of the right side of a tablet concerning GADA *ina pān* ^mPāni-^dBēl-adagga (l. 4 and 14) where only the names of gods and goddesses are preserved. The atypical sequence (Anunītu, Šamaš, Nin-ŠA, Adad, Šala, Bunene, Gula, and *mārāt Ebabbar*) does not contribute much to identifying ^dNin-ŠA. More embarrassing is the *dullu pešû* text BM 74324, where 10 *ḥuṣannus* of Aya are followed by 10 *ḥuṣannus* of ^dNin-ŠA and by the broken list of garments of Bunene. According to the texts known so far 10 *ḥuṣannus* belonged only to the vestments of the goddesses Aya, Anunītu and Šarrat Sippar. While in BM 70309 only two main goddesses, Aya and Šarrat Sippar, are missing, in BM 74324 the only one missing is Šarrat Sippar, who sometimes in other texts precedes Bunene.⁶⁰⁸ However, the function of ^dNin-ŠA as the *sukkal-maḥ* of Šamaš makes any attempt to identify ^dNin-ŠA with Šarrat Sippar absurd. More new texts are needed to elucidate the deity's place and function in the pantheon of Sippar.

⁶⁰⁵ Mentioned by BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 231. Note that according to Pinches' copy only Nin-[...] is preserved.

⁶⁰⁶ Cf. my *Building Activity of the Neo-Babylonian King* (to be published).

⁶⁰⁷ I owe the above information to Prof. W.G. LAMBERT.

⁶⁰⁸ BM 52353; BM 53743; BM 68353; BM 75552 (= Str II 152/4); BM 101793; CT 55, 845 and CT 55, 847.

- It should be noted that at least two goddesses or gods whose names begin with the element ^dNin-[....] were worshipped in Sippar.⁶⁰⁹
- b.) Amurru (^dKUR.GAL) BM 99988+BM 70915: 5' mentions the transport of bunches of reeds with GIŠ.MÁ *ru-ku-bu šá* ^dKUR.GAL. People with names bearing theophoric element ^dKUR.GAL are known in Sippar, but any evidence of an official cult is missing.
 - c.) Bēlēt-šamē, probably the wife of ^dIGI.DU, see below under (e).
 - d.) Dumuzi. BM 72999: 11' mentioning [x x] + 1 *hu-ša-nu*^{meš!} *šá* ^dDumuzi is important as it constitutes the first attestation of the cult of Dumuzi in Sippar in the Neo-Babylonian period.⁶¹⁰
 - e.) ^dIGI.DU of the city Bīni.⁶¹¹ BM 78901, the animal-offering list dated to the seventeenth year of Nabopolassar, mentions the cult of ^dIGI.DU *šá* ^{uru}*Bi-i-ni*, for whom one male sheep (*pargallu*) was offered. The same god appears in BM 51282: 7, also an animal offering list, and in BM 51700: 4', where he is followed by three illegible signs and is paired with Bēlēt-šamē (^š*u* ^dGAŠAN AN^e).
 - f.) ^dGU.ZA.†I.KÁM(?) This name is the last in a list of offerings dated to the seventeenth year of Nabopolassar. The possible translation "first(?) chair" (of Šamaš?) is suggested by Nbk 312: 26 concerning 1 G[ADA *a-na* GIŠ.G]U(?).ZA *šá* ^dA-a, "one lin[en cover for the ch]air of Aya."
 - g.) *Ahlamitu ša Anunītu* or the Aramaean Anunītu. The goddess is mentioned in VS 6, 77, a text concerning the manufacturing of a bag (*pišannu*) and diadem or headband (*kilīlu*) from blue-purple wool. Maybe the same goddess was mentioned in Nbn 117, where 16 minas of linen *hu-ša-bi-i* was used for the making of a DUR (*turru*) *šá* *huraba* of Ahlamītu (Nbn 117).
 - h.) *ūmu*, *kittu*, *mišaru* and *dayānu*. These divine powers of Šamaš are mentioned in six texts, all from the time of Nabopolassar.⁶¹²
 - i.) Sin. BM 79712, concerning sheep which were to be offered for different gods on the 2nd day of Nisannu, thirtieth year of Darius, mentions Sin in line 8. The *guqqū*-offerings for Sin in the month of Ayaru are

⁶⁰⁹ BM 74325: 8 †1 GADA *ta-ḥap-šú a-na* ^dNIN-†x¹, and 1. 9: [x] GADA *kib-su eš-šu a-na* ^dNIN-†x¹.

⁶¹⁰ Concerning the cult of Dumuzi in Uruk, see now BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, pp. 335–337.

⁶¹¹ It is most probably an abbreviated version of the city Kalbīnu. This idea is based on BM 77507 (see JURSA, *Tempelzehnt*, p. 94 s.v. Dūr-Šamaš), mentioning ^{uru}GU₄-*i-ni* as a centre of the cult of ^dIGI.DU and his *šangū* Marduk-šum-ibni. Because the main god of Bīnu and ^{uru}GU₄-*i-ni* (read tentatively by Jursa as <Kal>-*bi*[?]-*i-ni*?) was ^dIGI.DU, the identity of Bīnu – and ^{uru}GU₄-*i-ni*, both for Kalbīnu, seems certain.

⁶¹² BM 50733: 13' (12.2.<Nbp> 13; the *ūmu* is missing); MACGINNIS, *Afo* 50, p. 409: 15–16 (Nbp 17); BM 50501: 8–9 (Nbp 18); *RA* 74, p. 59: 15 (Nbp 19); VS 6, 213: 15–16 (Nbp 20); BM 82558: 7 (written [^du₄]-*mu* ^dNÍG.ZI ^dNÍG.SI.ŠÁ (undated; the last one was not written).

- mentioned in Cyr 189: 8. His name appears also in CT 55, 469 concerning the slaughtered sheep destined for the different gods. The day and month of the sheep offering *ana maṣḥatu ša* ⁶¹³30 are unknown.
- j.) Alittu. As noted by Bongenaar (*Ebabbar*, p. 230), this birth goddess is known only from CT 56, 469 (see above).
 - k.) Nabû and Tašmētu, and Ea. *RA* 74, p. 59, mentioning meat offerings for these gods, suggests that the other main Babylonian gods were worshipped in the city of Sippar.
 - l.) ^dGAŠAN.MU is mentioned only in *RA* 74, p. 59: 19. The name could be read ^dGAŠAN-*ia*₅, i.e. Bēltiya, who is identified with Šarpanītu. However, because Šarpanītu is mentioned above together with Marduk, such identification is excluded. Additionally, as noted above, the writing ^dGAŠAN-*ia* = Bēltiya is not known before the time of Nabonidus and was commonly used only in the Persian period.
 - m.) Nergal. The data concerning his cult have been gathered by Dandamayev.⁶¹⁴
 - n.) Ištar (written ^dMUŠ or ^dGAŠAN)⁶¹⁵ Agade appears in only two animal offerings list: BM 64728: 9⁶¹⁶ in the last position after Šamaš, Aya, Bunene, Šarrat Sippar and the (deified) *Ziqqurat* and in BM 59683: 10 (also in the last position after Adad, Šala and the deified Chariot).⁶¹⁷
 - o.) Adad and Šala from Zabban. Their cult is known only from three texts: VS 6, 213: 19–20 dated to the twentieth year of [Nabopolassar],⁶¹⁸ BM 49479: 1'–2' and BM 52839: 11'–12' (dates not preserved).

⁶¹³ BM 63751: 7', published by MACGINNIS 1995, pp. 184f.

⁶¹⁴ See DANDAMAYEV, AOAT 267, pp. 110–112. Concerning the alleged mention of a garment for Nergal in Cyr 186:11, see above n. 524.

⁶¹⁵ The interchangeable use of ^dMUŠ (Ištar) and GAŠAN (Bēlēt) is clear from the title of Araḍ-Anunītu, the *sepīru* (alphabet scribe) of Ištar (MUŠ) Agade in CT 57, 10: 6, but GAŠAN Agade in PINCHES, *JTVI* 57, 28: 3 (see BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 501). Concerning the connections of the city of Akkad with Sippar and Ebabbar temple, see JURSA, *WZKM* 86, pp. 205ff. and JURSA, *WZKM* 87, pp. 101ff. The chapel of Ištar Agade (É ^dGAŠAN *A-gada*^{ki}) is mentioned in BM 79270: 3 (6.5.Nbn 0); BM 83480: 5 (4.[x.KN] 10) and BM 59683: 10' (written over erasure). Concerning her cult as goddess of war, see LAMBERT *AJO* 50, ll. 11, 13–14 and 25.

⁶¹⁶ Mentioned by van Driel (*BSA* 8, p. 223). I owe the transliteration of the text to R. Tarasewicz.

⁶¹⁷ She appears also in BM 73206: 11' (probably concerning delivery of animals for offerings) and in BM 68721: 5, a contract written in Sippar and concerning reed, NÍG.GA ^dUTU. Since only fragment of text is preserved, it is not clear why she is mentioned there.

⁶¹⁸ In NRV, p. 670 (n. 1) the broken king's name is reconstructed as Nebuchadnezzar, corrected rightly by Bongenaar (*Ebabbar*, p. 233, n. 212) to Nabopolassar. Such a dating can be supported by two observations: a.) the animal offerings for *ūmu*, *kittu*, *mīšaru* and *dayānu* are known only from the time of Nabopolassar, and b.) the high position of Anu and Enlil (following Šarrat Sippar). For the same reason also BM 52839 must be

- p.) Nergal (^dIGI.DU) and Kallat-Ekur from Opis are known only from three texts discussed above, VS 6, 213: 21–22 (^dIGI.DU *u* ^dKal-lat-É-kur šá ^{ur}Ú-pi-ja); BM 49479: 3'–4' (^dIGI.DU ⁴*u* ^dKal-lat-É-k[ur]) and BM 52839: 13'([^dIGI.D]U *u* ^dKal-lat-É-kur; rest lost). Also their cult is not known from the texts from the time of Nebuchadnezzar; the cessation of animal offerings for these “visiting” deities (BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 231, n. 206) is the result of the new regulation of Nebuchadnezzar made shortly after the accession to the throne.⁶¹⁹
- q.) The deified objects. Except for *Ziqqurat* and Šamaš's Chariot, animal offerings were presented also before Šamaš's bed, before the symbols (*šubtu*) of Marduk and Šarpanītu, Anu and Enlil and before the golden diadem of Aya.⁶²⁰ It should be stressed that the divine determinative was used only in respect to *Ziqqurat* and Šamaš's Chariot, but only from the very beginning of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, or from the end of Nabopolassar's reign. It means that at least in the early years of Nabopolassar's reign all the aforementioned objects were recognised as sacred, but only some of them were later shifted to the divine sphere, i.e. they were recognised as separate divine beings. The tendency is to some degree again our expectation, especially in the light of the cancellation of animal offerings for non-material powers (*ūmu*, *kittu*, *mīšaru* and *dayānu*) which seems to express better god's might. Babylonian understanding was quite opposite – sacralization or deification of objects touched by the god was recognised as the best expression of divine power.

3. The cultic calendar

The cultic calendar of Sippar in the Neo- and Late-Babylonian period has not yet been a subject of systematic research. BBSt 36 and other texts make it possible to establish six great festivals connected with the ceremony of the changing of the garments.⁶²¹ Nevertheless, it is not clear whether such a change was connected only with a particular ceremony, and whether after the service the statue of the god was dressed in garments adequate for the given cycle, as defined by BM 91002. Of equal significance is a note in BM 59723: 21 which tells us about the manufacturing of

dated to the time of Nabopolassar, in which Anu and Enlil took even higher position (they are placed between *Ziqqurat* and Bunene), i.e. before Šarrat Sippar.

⁶¹⁹ Contra JOANNÈS 1988, p. 77, according to whom their cult disappeared after the reign of Nebuchadnezzar.

⁶²⁰ *OrSu* 50, no. 11: 6 (30.2⁷.Nbk 1): 1 UDU.NÍTA *ina* IGI *ku-lu-lu* šá ^dA-a.

⁶²¹ See BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 306.

the garments for Šamaš, Aya, Bunene and Šarrat Sippar *ana lubuštu ša* UD.14.KĀM UD.15.KĀM. Unfortunately, the name of the month is not preserved. The Nabû-apal-iddina text as well as numerous texts from the sixth and the fifth centuries B.C. mention the *lubuštu* of the 15th day of Araḥsamna and 15th day of Addaru. We should probably connect the text mentioned above with one of these dates on the understanding that the change of garments was part of a larger ceremony which lasted for at least two days.

Another important source of knowledge about the cultic calendar could be provided by the texts concerning the *tabû* procession. The state of preservation of the majority of these texts is poor, and our research possibilities are very limited owing to the fact that the heading, where the information about the date of the ceremony was originally included, is extensively broken or entirely lacking. The texts published so far show that the *tabû* procession took place in the month of Ayaru,⁶²² while BM 83659 indicates that such a celebration was held on 11+x (maybe 13th) Ayaru.⁶²³ BM 63503+, rev. 19–21, suggests that apart from the *tabû* procession with the participation of all the deities, a *tabû* of individual deities also took place.⁶²⁴ The text is badly broken, and the names of the first deity in rev. 19' and the third deity in rev. 21' are completely broken, but in rev. 20' presumably the *tabû* of Ša-[la]⁶²⁵ was mentioned.

Bongenaar established also that an additional *lubuštu* ceremony for the goddess Anunītu-ša-Sippar-Anunītu was celebrated on the 10th day of month Du'uzu.⁶²⁶ Every month the *šalam bīti* ceremony was also celebrated,⁶²⁷ including the intercalary month.⁶²⁸ An important contribution to our knowledge of the cultic calendar of Sippar comes from BM 50503, edited and perfectly commented by S. Maul.⁶²⁹ We know now that every month the morning and evening ceremonies were performed on the [1st], the 8th, the 15th and 20th day, including the intercalary month. On the 1st and 8th day an important role was played additionally by Aya, while on the 8th day by Bunene. As S. Maul has demonstrated the ceremony of the 20th day

⁶²² Except for Nbn 694 and Nbn 696 the *tabû* of the month Ayaru is mentioned in BM 60307 = Str. II 337/4.

⁶²³ Cf. also BM 63503+: 5', mentioning the *sūnu* of Šamaš for the 11th day of an unknown month, most probably for the *tabû* ceremony.

⁶²⁴ Also one text from Uruk mentions the *tabû* procession, i.e. the *tabû* of the goddess Urkayītu on the 9th day of Simānu (YOS 7, 20: 17–18; see BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 263f.). The *tabû* procession at the beginning of the year with the participation of Marduk is mentioned in VAB IV 114 I 48 and VAB IV 134 VII 23.

⁶²⁵ This suggestion results from the fact that the *ša* sign is always used to write the name of this goddess.

⁶²⁶ BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 307.

⁶²⁷ BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 266 and earlier p. 120f.

⁶²⁸ ZAWADZKI, *BiOr* 56 (1999) 278.

⁶²⁹ MAUL 1999, pp. 292f. and esp. pp. 301f.

was probably the most important of all ceremonies devoted to Šamaš, who obviously was expected to be in the city.⁶³⁰

Our knowledge of the cultic calendar in the light of the texts from the period of the seventh to the fifth centuries can be summarised as follows:

I. *Nisannu*

- Morning and evening service with the participation of Aya on the 1st day (BM 50503).
- *Šalam bīti* on the 2nd, 6th, 10th and 11th day (Bongenaar, *Ebabbar*, p. 121). See also BM 60926: 4 (10.1.Nbn 10), delivery of *bitqu* and *ḫalḫallu* flour for the *šalam bīti* by Nidintu.
- *Lubuštu* ceremony of Šamaš and the other most important gods and goddesses worshipped in the city on the 3rd day, i.e. at the very beginning of the New Year festival. This coincidence suggests that the change of the garments preceded the beginning of the festival or was its initial part.
- Morning and evening service on the 8th day (BM 50503).
- Morning and evening service with the participation of Aya on the 15th day (BM 50503).
- Morning and evening service on the 20th day (BM 50503).

II. *Ayaru*

- Morning and evening service with the participation of Aya on the 1st day.
- Morning and evening service on the 8th day (BM 50503).
- Cultic festival on 10th day, connected with the *lubuštu* ceremony of the gods and goddesses worshipped in the city.
- *Tabû* ceremony on the x+11th day⁶³¹.
- *Šalam bīti* on the 12th, 14th, 19/20th day (Bongenaar, *Ebabbar*, p. 121).
- Morning and evening service with the participation of Aya on the 15th day (BM 50503).
- *Tabû* ceremony on the 17th day (Bongenaar, *Ebabbar*, p. 236).
- *Ḫunṭu* festival on the 18th day (*OrSu* 50, no. 11: 11').
- Morning and evening service on the 20th day (BM 50503).

⁶³⁰ It is interesting to note that according to BM 54557 Šamaš came back from Babylon shortly before the 20th day of Šabāṭu, obviously to participate in the service at this day (see ZAWADZKI 2005).

⁶³¹ BM 83659. The writing of the numeral leaves only two possible dates, i.e. the 12th or 13th day of the month.

III. *Simānu*

- Morning and evening service on the 1st, 8th, 15th and 20th day (BM 50503).
- *Šalam bīti* on the 12th (of Gula, Šarrat Sippar, Anunītu) and on the 20th day connected with the ritual of the Cleaning of the House (*puššu ša bīti*), see Bongenaar, *Ebabbar*, p. 121. That day an ox for the *sidru*-offering was offered to Marduk (Nbn 768: 4–5, written on 19.3.Nbn 14).

IV. *Du'uzu*

- Morning and evening service on the 1st, 8th, 15th and 20th day (BM 50503).
- Anunītu cultic festival on the 10th day (Bongenaar, *Ebabbar*, p. 307).
- *Šalam bīti* ceremony on an unknown day.

V. *Abu*

- Morning and evening service on the 1st, 8th, 15th and 20th day (BM 50503).
- *Šalam bīti* ceremony on an unknown day.

VI. *Ulūlu*

- Morning and evening service on the 1st, 8th, and 15th day (BM 50503).
- *Lubuštu* ceremony of Šamaš and the other most important gods and goddesses worshipped in the city on the 3rd day.
- Festival on the 16th day, with the participation of Anunītu. The only evidence is BM 63175: 3–5 concerning the delivery of *dipāru* (torches) *šá Anunītu šá UD.16.KÁM šá ITU.KIN*. It means that on that date a night ceremony with torches took place⁶³².
- Morning and evening service on the 20th day (BM 50503).
- *Šalam bīti* ceremony on an unknown day.
- *Kinūnu* festival on 26th day (BM 50035: 4'–5'; fragment of an animal offering list)⁶³³.

⁶³² A night ceremony with torches was probably a permanent element during the main festivals of the cultic year at Sippar and elsewhere. Nbn 753:16–17 mentions one hundred bundles of reeds for torches of Anunītu, but because the text was written on 6th Nisannu, we can try to connect this fact with the New Year *akītu* festival. Similarly, the torches for Šarrat Sippar mentioned in CT 56, 140: 6, are probably connected with the 3rd Ulūlu (l. 9) festival.

⁶³³ The offering(s) for *kinūnu* of 16th day (month not preserved) is mentioned also in BM 49479: 6'–7'.

VII. *Tašrītu*

- Morning and evening service on the 1st, and 8th day (BM 50503).
- *Lubuštu* ceremony of Šamaš and the other most important gods and goddesses worshipped in the city on the 7th day.
- *Šalam bīti* on the 8th day (Bongenaar, *Ebabbar*, p. 121).
- *Tabû ša Anunītu* on the 9th day (BM 101392).
- Morning and evening service on the 15th and 20th day (BM 50503).

VIII. *Arašsamna*

- Morning and evening service on the 1st, and 8th day (BM 50503).
- Morning and evening service and the cultic festival on the 15th day with the *lubuštu* ceremony of the most important gods and goddesses worshipped in the city. In the light of BM 59621, a TÚG.KUR.RA garment for the “symbol (GIŠ.TUKUL) of the god (and?) a TÚG.KUR.RA garment for (statue?) of Šamaš” (with addition of?) half a mina of blue-purple wool” was manufactured⁶³⁴ for the *lubuštu* of that month. Next the manufacture of a TÚG.KUR.RA garment of Bunene with (the addition?) of 6 shekels of wool is mentioned. It means that during the festival the symbol of Šamaš (a sun disc?) was covered with a TÚG.KUR.RA garment during the *lubuštu* or the *kinūnu* festival (see below).
- *Kinūnu* festival on the 18th day? Two texts mentioning the issue of torches are dated on the 18th Arašsamna (Bongenaar, *Ebabbar* 21, n. 47). The *kinūnu* ceremony is also mentioned in BM 50847: 2, although it is not clear whether the ceremony mentioned there was in the month of Arašsamna or in Kislīmu.⁶³⁵ It seems possible that the festival is the continuation of the *lubuštu* festival of the 15th Arašsamna because the same gods took part in it. The issue of torches shows that a night ceremony was a part of the service.
- *Šalam bīti* on the 18th and 27th day (of Gula, Šarrat Sippar, Anunītu), see Bongenaar, *Ebabbar*, pp. 121f.; see also BM 61220 (day broken).
- Morning and evening service on the 20th day (BM 50503).

⁶³⁴ 1/2 *ma-na* SÍG.ZA.GÌN.ʽKUR.RA¹ [*a-na*] ²TÚG.KUR.RA GIŠ.TUKUL DINGIR TÚG.KUR.RA ³šá ^dUTU.

⁶³⁵ [...] 12 *ta-ra-ʽx*¹ PAP 18 ITI.APIN ²[.....] ¹16 IGI ^dGAŠAN *Sip-par*^{ki} *ina ki-nu-nu* ³[...] KÁM(?) *šá* ITI.GAN. Ca. one-quarter of the left side of the tablet is missing. Cf. also Cam 126 (18.8.Camb 2), where aromatic substances (*riqqu*, *ballukku* and *burāšu*) are given to the smith ⁴*a-na ki-nu-nu šá* ^dUTU ^dA-a ^{5d}HAR DINGIR.MEŠ *Sip-par*^{ki}, “for the *kinūnu* festival of Šamaš, Aya, Bunene (and all) gods of Sippar”, and Nbn 546: 25 (15.8.Nbn 11) mentioning 3 BĀN É ^dIM *šá* 2 *šib-tu*₄ *šá* K.I.NE.NE, “3 *sūtu* (of barley?) (from/for?) the sanctuary of Adad for 2 loaves for the *kinūnu* festival”.

IX. *Kislimu*

- Morning and evening service on the 1st day (BM 50503).
- Ceremony or special meal for Adad and Šala on the 7th day. BM 50832, the animal offering list dated to the accession year of Nebuchadnezzar, suggests such possibility. On this day the offerings – probably ox or/and *pargallu* were served exclusively for the couple.⁶³⁶ On the next day, the full offerings were given for Šamaš and Aya, while Adad and Šala received only one lamb and one duck.
- Morning and evening service on the 8th, 15th and 20th day (BM 50503)
- The *šalam bīti* ceremony on an unknown day.

X. *Ṭebētu*

- Morning and evening service on the 1st, 8th and 15th day (BM 50503).
- Nocturnal ceremony (*bajātu*) on the 16th Ṭebētu (?) during which animals were sacrificed (BM 50847: 7). Only the date is preserved, but because earlier offerings on the 25th Kislimu and a later one on 3rd Šabātu are mentioned, the 16th day between these dates must be that of Ṭebētu.
- Morning and evening service on the 20th day (BM 50503).
- *Šalam bīti* ceremony on an unknown day.

XI. *Šabātu*

- Morning and evening service on the 1st, 8th, 15th and 20th (BM 50503).
- Marriage festival (*hašādu*) of Šarrat Sippar on the 14th and/or on the 17th day (Bongenaar, *Ebabbar*, p. 242).
- *Šalam bīti* ceremony on an unknown day.

XII. *Addaru*

- Morning and evening service on the 1st, 8th and 15th day (BM 50503).
- The cultic festival on the 15th Addaru connected with the *lubuštu* ceremony of the most important gods and goddesses worshipped in the city. The festival in Araḥsamna or Addaru might have lasted for two days (see above).
- Morning and evening service on the 20th day (BM 50503).
- *Šalam bīti* ceremony on the 20th and the 25th day (of Šarrat Sippar), see Bongenaar, *Ebabbar*, pp. 121f.

As we see, many festivals known from Sippar concern the *lubuštu* ceremony or are connected with that ceremony. The exact nature of these

⁶³⁶ The left side of the text is missing, but from l. 3 is clear that the kind of offerings was typical, i.e. [*alpu šuklulu, par*]gallu, *kalūmu, kurkū, paspasu* and *sukanninu*. Because the four columns preceding the names of the gods are empty, for their meal only fattened ox or/and *pargallu* must be offered.

ceremonies has not yet been precisely explained. The question is whether the *lubuštu* ceremony was the central part of the cultic festival or whether the dressing of the gods in glamorous festival attire was a precondition, or the first step of their preparation, for the feast. I opt for the second possibility. The *lubuštu* ceremonies of Nisannu and Tašrītu seems to be connected with the spring and autumn New Year festival, and might be the first stage of these festivals. The data from Uruk show that the festival was part of a longer ceremony during which animal offerings were also presented.⁶³⁷ Additionally, as was suggested above, it seems probable that on ordinary days, when the statues of gods were not exposed to public audience, the gods were dressed in their “stone garments.” This suggests that the gods were dressed in rich, beautiful attire only when they left their chambers during the festivals and took part in the public processions. It seems that in Sippar ordinary people may have had the chance to see the gods more often than six times a year.⁶³⁸ In all these additional days the gods were dressed in wool and linen dresses. The lack of any prescription concerning the quality and quantity of the garments for these additional feast days, similar to that known from BM 91002, might mean that only these six festivals were under the king’s special care. The question of how to dress the gods for other minor festivals might have been regulated by local customs going back many centuries without any written documentation.

4. Garments and their cultic function. General remarks

From what has been said in Chapter 3, it follows that the garments of the individual deities were not uniform. A glimpse at Table 19 shows that many major elements of garments were the same for the gods and the goddesses, while the differences between the outfits consist mainly in the quantity of material used for the manufacture of respective garments; we may assume that the latter factor found a reflection in the different styling of the garments. Another factor influencing the diversity of garments was their length (also indicated by the quantity of raw material used), colours selected, and other minor elements as well as a variety of different patterns, but the last factor, regrettably, cannot be ascertained from the sources.

⁶³⁷ See PTS 2783, cited in BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 176 (repeated many times in the appropriate places) and NCBT 1233 (idem, p. 288).

⁶³⁸ Contra BIDMEAD 2002, p. 14: “The procession of deities to and from the *bīt akīti* may be the only time during the year when ordinary citizens can pay homage to the gods.”

The full list items of garments may be divided into four groups.⁶³⁹

1. Items common to all main gods and goddesses:

- linen *salḫu*
- *paršīgu*
- *ḫušannu*
- *lubār kulūlu*. Note the lack of this item in the attire of *mārāt Ebabbar*, which might, however, reflect the small number of well preserved relevant entries. Perhaps the same applies to the *šibtu* absent in the list of garments of the goddesses, *Aya*, *mārāt Ebabbar*, and *Šala*.
- *sūnu* (with the probable exception concerning *mārāt Ebabbar*).⁶⁴⁰

2. Items belonging exclusively to the gods' attire:

- *lubāru*
- *ḫullānu*
- *patinnu*
- *nēbeḫu*
- *lubār mēṭu*
- *guḫaššu* (but see above, on the doubts concerning Šarrat Sippar).

3. Items belonging exclusively to the goddesses' attire:

- *naḫlaptu*
- *kusītu*
- *lubār erru* (absent from the attire of the *mārāt Ebabbar*, perhaps owing to the small number of well preserved items).

4. Garments restricted to one deity:

- *muttatu* – for Šamaš
- *lubār pāni* – for Šarrat Sippar
- *naḫlaptu takiltu* – for Šarrat Sippar
- *lubār qabli* – for Anunītu
- *lubār šamamu* – for Anunītu.

⁶³⁹ In this division the goddess Anunītu is omitted because of her special position (see below).

⁶⁴⁰ The only reference might be recognised in VS 6, 28: 15 (obv. 3 in Ungnad's edition): 1^{en} TÚG.ÚR TÚG.NÍG.ÍB.LÁ.MEŠ ¹⁶šá ^dDUMU.MÍ.MEŠ É-babbar-ra ¹⁷u ^dBu-ne-ne / [šá] 'la' / ḫa-a-tu i-nam-din. It seems to me more probable that the *sūnu* was delivered for Bunene and the *ḫušannus* for the *mārāt Ebabbar*. It cannot be excluded that the lack of the *sūnus* for the Daughters of Ebabbar might result from the small number of well preserved items.

5. Garments of individual gods

The *dullu pešû* and *miḥṣu tenû* lists name 14 different items of Šamaš's attire; a greater number of items appear only in the atypical attire of the goddess Anunītu (16 or 17). In the light of the presently known data only the attire of Šamaš differed slightly in accordance with the cycle, i.e. in cycle A there were two *šibtu*s and seven *ḥuṣannus*, while in cycle B only one *šibtu* and six *ḥuṣannus*, i.e. in the cultic year the first part of the year was recognised as more important. According to BM 91002, the *šibtu* of Šamaš should be made of *kitinnû*, but in fact it was usually made of wool. However, in the second cycle Šamaš's attire differed from the attire of other gods additionally by the *muttatu* headdress reserved exclusively for him. The attire of Šamaš (just like Aya) was differentiated also by two *sūnus*, while all other gods have only one. To some degree the specific element of Šamaš's attire was also the *lubār mē qaqqadi*, found only as the item in the attire of two goddesses: Šarrat Sippar, the goddess strongly connected with Šamaš, and of Anunītu, whose garments are atypical in many aspects. The high weight of the *šibtu* and *lubāru* of Šamaš suggest that his attire was the most elaborate and perhaps his statue was the tallest of the statues of the deities worshipped in Sippar. In accordance with this, his *šibtu* and *lubāru* were most probably the longest ones. This suggests that there was some relationship between the position of the god in the pantheon and the quality and quantity of his garments, and most probably also other implements, such as jewellery, furniture, etc. This idea is supported by the clear relationship between the position of the gods in the pantheon and the quantity and quality of different types of offerings consisting of animal and cereal products.

Two major factors which strongly influenced the appearance of the Šamaš's statue when dressed in these garments during the cultic ceremony were the fact that they were manufactured exclusively of white wool (the *šibtu*) or with only a small amount of *tabarru* wool (the *lubāru*). Because all other elements of Šamaš's attire were small in size, the major colour of Šamaš during the cultic ceremony was white. One can ask, without any great possibility of finding an answer, whether the colour white was connected in any way with Šamaš's function as the sun god and the god of justice.⁶⁴¹

We know much less about the attire of Bunene, although he shared with Šamaš the two most important elements of his attire, the *lubāru* and the *šibtu*. As with Šamaš's attire, the *šibtu* of Bunene was made of white wool,

⁶⁴¹ The importance of the colour white is suggested also by white horses offered to the temple, most probably for use during the cultic ceremonies, see BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 299; WAERZEGGERS 1998 and MACGINNIS 2000 (this observation I owe to John MacGinnis).

while his *lubāru* was made of white wool with a small amount (usually six shekels) of red wool. However, the relationship suggested above between the position of the god in the pantheon and his statue and garment cannot be supported in the case of Bunene. The *dullu pešû* lists show that his *lu-bāru* and *šibtu* was several times lighter than the *lubāru* and *šibtu* of Šamaš, and also lighter than the same items of Adad and the goddesses Anunītu and Šarrat Sippar, whose positions in the Sippar pantheon were evidently lower. My first idea was that Bunene was worshipped as the child of his parents (Šamaš and Aya), and that the relatively high position of the Daughters of Ebabbar (*mārāt Ebabbar*) suggests that some element of family cult took place in the city of Sippar. Arguments for such an interpretation might be found in the idea expressed by Bongenaar that the cultic needs of Bunene were provided for him out of the prebend of Šamaš,⁶⁴² which, however, can no longer be accepted.⁶⁴³ Additionally, what we know about the function of Bunene in the cult in Sippar shows clearly that he was worshipped there not as a child but as an adult.

Religious and liturgical texts describe Bunene as the vizier (*sukkallu*), driver of the cultic chariot and as the adviser and son of his father Šamaš.⁶⁴⁴ Although our knowledge of the cultic calendar of Neo-Babylonian Sippar is limited, it seems that the ceremony of the changing of garments (*lubuštu*) was closely connected with the great cultic festivals, a part of which comprised the procession of gods outside the temple, or as in the New Year festival, even outside the city. It is obvious that at least during this latter ceremony Bunene had to be active as the driver of the cultic chariot of his father. It seems very probable that as a driver of the ceremonial chariot Bunene was dressed in a short jacket giving him ease of movement, maybe with the sleeves covering the only upper part of the forearm, i.e. similarly to the representation of some persons on the Neo-Assyrian reliefs. For the same reason the jacket was most probably short, and it did not cover the knees. It seems to me that the form of his garments was closely connected with the cultic function of Bunene.

The garments of Adad were, as stated above, more elaborate than the attire of Bunene, although the main items were the same. However in the *dullu pešû* lists one item, the *hullānu*, present in the attire of Šamaš and Bunene, is missing in his attire. The *hullānu* was recognised earlier as an equivalent of the *nahlaptu*, in Sippar an item of the goddesses' attire, usually made of coloured wool, and used, at least sometimes, as an outer garment, not covered by any other item. Similarly, the *hullānu* might be used as an outer apparel and its absence would have been immediately recognisable. It seems that this makes possible an immediate distinction of Adad's

⁶⁴² BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 240.

⁶⁴³ See above, pp. 81f.

⁶⁴⁴ See POMPONIO, in *Studi ... Luigi Cagni*, pp. 888–904. See also An = Anum III 143 and JURSA, *Archiv*, p. 68.

statue from the statues of other gods during public processions. It is difficult to say whether the lack of a *ḥullānu* was in some way connected with his function as the god of storm, wind and rain.

Concerning the goddesses' attire, only two items (the red *naḥlaptu*) and *kusītu*) are certainly common to all the goddesses whose garments are known from the garment text. In comparison with the gods' garments the difference is important owing to the lack in the goddesses' attire of such items as the *lubāru*, the *šibtu*,⁶⁴⁵ the *ḥullānu*, the *guḥaṣṣu*, the *patinnu*, the *nēbeḥu*⁶⁴⁶ and the *lubār mētu*. The most elaborate item, in Sippar restricted exclusively for goddesses, was the *kusītu*, a type of a long mantle covered with hundreds of golden sequins.

The most abundant information concerns the attire of Anunītu. Although most texts give only the name of the goddess, it is certain that in all of them Anunītu-ša-Sippar-Anunītu is meant. Her attire differs clearly from the vestment of all other goddesses worshipped in Sippar. The most important observation is that in her attire we find both garments reserved exclusively for her (*lubār qabli*, *lubār šamame* and *lubār hubbītu*) and items typical for the vestment of the male gods, i.e. *ḥullānu*, *nēbeḥu* and *patinnu*. Important is the lack of the *kusītu* – the most typical item of the goddesses' vestment. The differences can be explained by the specific religious function of Anunītu-ša-Sippar-Anunītu. In the Neo-Babylonian building inscriptions from Sippar she is described as “the great lady” (*bēltu rabīti*, VAB IV 228: 38; 250: 48) and as “lady of battle, equipped with bow and quiver, keeping well the words of Enlil, her father, overwhelming the enemy, destroying the wicked, the leader of gods” (*bēlit tāhāzi nāšāt*^{giš} *qašti ū išpāti mušallimat qībit* ^d*Enlil abīšu sāpinat* ^{lu}*nakru muḥalliḡat raggu ālikat mahri ša ilāni* VAB IV 228: 22–25). Her high position can be dated back at least to the Kassite period since in the Kassite inscription found by Nabonidus, Šagarakti-šuriaš, the former Kassite king, ascertains that Šamaš and Anunītu elevated him to leadership in the country ([*ašaridu*]-*ut māti šūma imbū*, VAB IV 248: 25). The administrative texts mention ^{giš}*tallu*,⁶⁴⁷ and torches (*dipāru*),⁶⁴⁸ the latter used most probably during the night ceremony involving the goddess. The exceptional position of Anunītu in Sippar is demonstrated by the celebration of a special feast in her honour in the month of Du'uzu.⁶⁴⁹ The texts cited above reveal that

⁶⁴⁵ The exception is the attire of Anunītu and Gula.

⁶⁴⁶ It seems that with the exception of Anunītu the belts did not belong to the attire of the goddesses.

⁶⁴⁷ BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 21, n. 47, translated “carrying pole” according to the dictionaries; see however a new translation “balustrade” suggested by BEAULIEU, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 6, based probably on GC 2, 49: 8–9 (cited on p. 139) according to which *tallu* was an element of the *šibtu* altar.

⁶⁴⁸ See BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 21, n. 47 and BM 63175: 3–4: GL.MEŠ [...] ⁴*ša di-pa-ri ša* ^d*A-nu-n[i-tu₄]*

⁶⁴⁹ Recognised by BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 307.

Anunītu in Sippar was worshipped in the warlike aspect of the goddess Ištar.⁶⁵⁰ This fact was expressed strongly in her cultic vestments. No wonder that for expressing her military aspect the goddess Anunītu was dressed in male garments. It is clear that as a deity of war her dress had to be similar to the soldiers' clothing, or to male attire. It is exactly for these reasons that the vestment of Anunītu has so much in common with the attire of gods, and only seldom with that of goddesses. One can refer to the Greek world, where Athena Promachos, the goddess of war, was presented with some elements of soldiers' equipments (shield, spear and helmet). However, Anunītu retains some items typical for goddesses, so one cannot exclude that she was also worshipped as a hypostasis of Ištar in her non-military aspect.

From a formal point of view the second position in the pantheon of Sippar belonged to the goddess Aya. It should be noted that in the royal inscriptions she is described only as "bride, the great lady" (*kallatu bēltu rabītu*, VAB IV 230: 5) or as "his (Šamaš's) beloved bride" (*kallati naramtišu* VAB IV 236: 51) living with him in the Ebabbar temple (VAB IV 92: 40; 142: 29–32). In the prayers of Nabonidus addressed to her she is reduced to the position of a wife who has to ensure a good mood in Šamaš, her husband:

- *kallat rabīti ina kummīka šīri kajjāna lītammīka damqāti*, "(may Aya) the great bride keep speaking to you in your splendid *kummu* in my favour" (VAB IV 242 col. III: 47–50)
- *kallati rabīti āšibat bīt majāli kajjānamma panūka lišnammir*, "(may Aya) the great bride, who abides in the bedroom, always make your face shine" (VAB IV 258: 19–20).

The clear subordination of Aya to her husband, the supreme god of Sippar, is also reflected, although in a limited way, in the *dullu pešū* texts, where instead of the precise "two *sūnus* for Šamaš and two *sūnus* for Aya" the scribe wrote quite often "four *sūnus* of Šamaš."⁶⁵¹

A similar situation concerns the goddess Šala, the wife of Adad. As noted above, the animal offerings are usually given for both of them; if some item of their clothing was the same, e.g. the *sūnu*, it is also described as "for Adad" without any mention of his wife. Obviously, the Neo-Babylonian citizens of Sippar recognised them as different but strongly unified.

Very impressive was the attire of the goddess Šarrat Sippar, "Queen of Sippar." While other goddesses have red *naḥlaptu(s)*, it is only in the attire of Aya and Šarrat Sippar that also the multicoloured (*birmu*) is mentioned

⁶⁵⁰ DHORME, *Les Religions*, p. 12, 90. See also TALLQVIST, *Götterepitheta*, p. 255 and FRAME 1993, p. 27, who suggest that her name "may perhaps be translated «She of battle»" and stressed her close connection with Ištar worshipped at Akkad.

⁶⁵¹ Also when the items are destined for Adad and Šala, quite often only Adad's name is mentioned.

quite regularly; moreover, only Šarrat Sippar had in her wardrobe the blue-purple *naḥlaptu*. An additional item presently known as belonging only to her attire is the *lubār pāni*, most probably a type of veil covering her face. When the colour of other items of her dress is mentioned, they are usually made of coloured wool, mostly blue-purple. Clearly this colour has to be recognised as a symbol of her position as queen. As noted above⁶⁵², the texts suggest that Šarrat Sippar was to some degree a rival of the goddess Aya.

Little can be said about the differences between the attire of other gods and goddesses. In the clothing of the Daughters of Ebabbar or the Ladies the *lubār kulūlu*⁶⁵³ and the *lubār erru* is never mentioned, which means that the *paršigu* was their only headdress.

Among the garments of Gula, just as in the attire of Anunītu, there appears the *šibtu*, an item belonging to the attire of gods. Among the garments of Adad the *ḥullānu* is lacking, probably a type of mantle, which might be connected with his function as a god of storm and rain, though this cannot be proved. Although the clear association of garment with function is evident only in relation to the goddess Anunītu of Sippar Anunītu and to some degree with Bunene, it can be postulated that the same applied to other gods worshipped in Sippar and in other cultic centres of Mesopotamia and beyond.

TABLE 6: Clothing for Aya delivered by Nabû-bēl-šumāti

<i>lubār kulūlu</i>	<i>ḥuṣannu</i>	<i>kašītu</i>	<i>naḥlaptu</i>	<i>sūnu</i> ⁶⁵⁴	<i>paršigu</i>	Text	Date
	x			x ⁶⁵⁵		BM 50272	Nbp 9
	x			x		BM 49902	Nbp 10
	x			x		BM 49268	Nbp 17
	x			x		BM 51498	Nbp 18
	x			x		CT 55, 830	Nbp 19
	x			x		VS 6, 17	Nbp 20
	x			x		BM 52361	Nbp [x]

⁶⁵² See p. 169f.

⁶⁵³ Cf. however, the badly preserved BM 65975, rev. 5' (1 TÚG.ĪIA ^{túg}ku-lu-lu TÚG.SÍG.ZA.GÌN.<KUR>.RA šá ^dUDUMU¹.[MÍ.MEŠ É-babbar-ra] (?).

⁶⁵⁴ If in the text 4 TÚG.ÚR.MEŠ šá ^dUTU or only 4 TÚG.ÚR.MEŠ are mentioned it is interpreted as two *sūnus* for Šamaš and two *sūnus* for Aya without any additional explanation. The arguments for such an interpretation are given in chapter V, sect. 1.5.

⁶⁵⁵ However, only 3 *sūnus* are mentioned here, i.e. two for Šamaš and one for Aya or vice versa.

				x		BM 51293	Nb[k x]
	x			x		BM 52102	Nb[k x]
	x			x		BM 82578	Nbk 2
	x			x		BM 51099	[Nbk] 2
	x			x		BM 51447	[Nbk] 3
	x			x		BM 50745	[Nbk] 4
x	x	x	x	x	x	VS 6, 26	Nbk 6
	x			[x]		BM 49992	Nbk 7
	x			x		VS 6, 28	Nbk 8
	x			x		BM 49471	Nbk 9
	x			x		BM 49416	Nbk 10
x		x	x		x	CT 4, 38a	Nbk 13
	x			「x」		BM 50179	Nbk 14
	x			x		VS 6, 208	<Nbk> 15
	x ⁶⁵⁶			x		CT 55, 837	N[bk] 22
		x	x		x ⁶⁵⁷	BM 62626	Nbk 39
x	x	x	x	x	x	BM 51274	Nbk 2+[x]
「x」	「x」	x	x	[x]	x	BM 51296	[Nbk? x]
	x			x		CT 55, 845	Nbk [x]
	x			x		BM 50342	Nb[k x]
	x			x		BM 50255	Nbk [x]
	x			x		BM 51568	Nb[k x]
	x			x		BM 49567	Nbk [x]
	x			x ⁶⁵⁸		BM 50439	[Nbk x]
	x			x		BM 79386	Nb[p/k] 12
	x					CT 55, 841	Nbn 5

⁶⁵⁶ Note the atypical weight of *hušannus* of Aya, i.e. 50 shekels, while the norm was one mina.

⁶⁵⁷ One out of two is decorated with *ayar pāni*.

⁶⁵⁸ However, only one *sūnu* is mentioned here, which may belong to Šamaš's or Aya's garment.

TABLE 7: Clothing for Aya delivered by Nabû-nāšir-apli

<i>lubār kūlulu</i>	<i>bušannu</i>	<i>adilānu kusītu</i>	<i>sūnu</i>	<i>paršigu</i>	<i>erru</i>	Text	Date
	x		x			BM 66247	Nbn 4
	x		x			BM 62119+	Nbn 5
x		x		x	x	BM 79793+	(Nbn 8) ⁶⁵⁹
		x				BM 63962	Nbn 9
	x		x			BM 62582+	Nbn 10
		x				Nbn 465	Nbn 10
	x		x			BM 74440	Nbn 10
		x				Nbn 547	Nbn 11
	[x]		x			BM 68982	Nbn 14
		x				Nbn 751	Nbn 14
	x		x			Nbn 826 ⁶⁶⁰	Nbn 15
	x		x			BM 65503	Nbn 16
	x		x			Nbn 1015	Nbn 16
	x		x			BM 62108	Cyr 2 ⁶⁶¹
	x		x!			Cyr 186	Cyr 5
	x		x			Cyr 232	Cyr 6
	x		[x]			BM 64673+	Cyr <->
	x					BM 71730	Ach 7
	x		[x]			CT 55, 806	[Nbn/Cyr]
	[x]		x			BM 62244	–
	x		x			BM 76129	–

⁶⁵⁹ Identified as representing Nabû-nāšir-apli's activity on the basis of the presence of his slaves/weavers (Bakûa, Nabû-nāšir and Nabû-upnīya).

⁶⁶⁰ Note, however, that wording of ll. 3–5 is highly ambiguous: 1^{en} TÚG.ÚR TÚG.NÍG.ÍB.LÁ.MEŠ ⁴šá ^dDUMU.MÍ.MEŠ É-babbar-ra ⁵u ^dBu-ne-ne.

⁶⁶¹ The name of Nabû-nāšir-apli is missing, but it is the time of his activity as the owner of the weaver's prebend.

TABLE 8: Clothing for Bunene delivered by Nabû-bêl-šumāti

<i>lubāru</i>	<i>šibtu</i>	<i>hušannu hu</i>	<i>lubār kūlulu</i>	<i>lubār meju</i>	<i>nēbehu</i>	<i>sūnu</i>	<i>paršigu</i>	Text	Date
x	「x」							CT 55, 830	Nbp 19
x	x							VS 6, 17	Nbp 20
x	x	x				x	x	BM 51099	[Nbk] 2
[x]	[x]	x	x			x	x	BM 51447	[Nbk] 3
[x]	[x]	x	x			x	x	BM 50066	[Nbk] 3
x	x	x	x			x	x	BM 50745	[Nbk] 4
x	x	x	x	x	x!			VS 6, 26	Nbk 6
x	x							BM 49992	Nbk 7
x	x							VS 6, 28 ⁶⁶²	Nbk 8
x	x							BM 49471	Nbk 9
			x	x	x			CT 4, 38a	Nbk 13
[x]	[x]		x			x		BM 52475	Nbk 13
		x	x			x	x	BM 50179	Nbk 14
[x]	[x]	x				x		CT 55, 844	Nbk 19 ⁶⁶³
[x]	[x]	x				x	「x」	CT 55, 837	N[bk] 22
「x」	[x]							BM 69280	Nbk 22
			[x]	x	x			BM 62626	Nbk 39
[x?]	[x?]	「x」				x	x	BM 84509	Nb[k x]
x	x							BM 51293	Nbk [x]
x	x							BM 50255	Nbk [x]
x	「x」							BM 52731	Nbk [x]
			x	x	x			BM 51274	Nbk 2+ [x]
x	[x]							BM 61920	[Nbk x]
[x]	x							BM 51296	[Nbk? x]
x	x							BM 50439	[Nbk? x]
x	x							CT 55, 841	Nbn 5

⁶⁶² Maybe also *sūnu* and *hušannus*, see highly ambiguous wording of ll. 15–17: ^{1en} TUG.ÚR TUG.NÍG.ÍB.LÁ.MEŠ ¹⁶šá ^dDUMU.MÍ.MEŠ É-babbar-ra ^{17u} ^dBu-ne-ne.

⁶⁶³ The name of Nabû-bêl-šumāti is not preserved, but the list is comparable to the lists in other texts made in his name.

TABLE 9: Clothing for Bunene delivered by Nabû-nāšir-apli⁶⁶⁴

<i>lubāru</i>	<i>šibtu</i>	Text	Date
x	x	BM 62119+	Nbn 5
x	x	BM 74440	Nbn 10
x	x	Nbn 826	Nbn 15
x	[x]	CT 55, 803	Nbn 15
x	x	Nbn 1015	Nbn 16
x	x	BM 65503	N[bn] 16
x	x	BM 62108	Cyr 2 ⁶⁶⁵
x	x	Cyr 232	Cyr 6
x	x	CT 55, 806	[Nbn/Cyr]

TABLE 10: Clothing for *mārāt Ebabbar* delivered by Nabû-bēl-šumāti

<i>bušannu</i>	<i>kuštu</i>	<i>naḥlaptu</i>	<i>sūnu</i>	<i>paršigu</i>	Text	Date
x (8)					BM 51099	[Nbk] 2
x (8)					BM 51447	[Nbk] 3
x (8)					BM 50066	[Nbk] 3
x (8)					BM 50745	[Nbk] 4
	x	x		x	VS 6, 26 ⁶⁶⁶	Nbk 6
x ([8])					BM 52475	Nbk 13
	x	x		x	CT 4, 38a	Nbk 13
x ([8])					BM 50179	Nbk 14
x (8)					CT 55, 844	Nbk 19
x (8)					CT 55, 837	N[bk] 22

⁶⁶⁴ Note that Cyr 186 (Cyr 5) do not include any garments for Bunene. Strange is CT 44, 73: 19 (Camb 1) mentioning one *patinnu* for Šamaš and Bunene weighing 4 minas. BM 79793+ mentioning one *nēbeḥu* for Bunene should also be noted. In BM 79134 (Nbn 6) *takiltu* for *lubāru* of Bunene is mentioned.

⁶⁶⁵ The name of Nabû-nāšir-apli is missing, but it is the time of his activity as the owner of the weaver's prebend.

⁶⁶⁶ Cf. also the ambiguous wording in VS 6, 28, ll. 15–17: 1^{en} TÚG.ÚR TÚG.NÍG.ÍB.LÁ. MEŠ¹⁶ šá^d DUMU.MÍ.MEŠ *Ē-babbar-ra* 17^u d^d *Bu-ne-ne*.

		「X」		x	BM 62626	Nbk 39
x ([8])					BM 50938	Nbk [x]
[x (8)]					BM 53364	[Nbk x?]

TABLE 11: Clothing for Šarrat Sippar delivered by Nabû-bēl-šumāti

<i>lubār</i> <i>lu-bar</i>	<i>hušannu</i>	<i>kasītu</i>	<i>nahlaptu</i> <i>hlaptu</i>	<i>sūnu</i>	<i>paršgu</i>	<i>lubār mē</i> <i>qaqqadi</i>	<i>lubār pāni</i>	Text	Date
	x							BM 50272 ⁶⁶⁷	Nbp 9
x		x	X		x			VS 6, 16 ⁶⁶⁸	Nbp 20
		x					x	VS 6, 23	Nbk 2
	x							BM 82578	Nbk 2
x	x			x	x			BM 82586	Nbk 6
	x			x	x			Nbk 87	Nbk 10
x	x			x	x ⁶⁶⁹	x		BM 49333	Nbk 10+
x	「X」			x	x	x		BM 49621	Nbk 12
	「X」							CT 55, 837	N[bk] 22
		「X」			x			BM 62626	Nbk 39
	「X」							CT 55, 845	Nbk [x]
	x							BM 52102	Nb[k x]
	x							BM 79386	Nb[p/k] 12
	x							CT 55, 841	Nbn 5

⁶⁶⁷ The text in ll. 3–5 (TÚG.HI.A u TÚG.MÁŠ šá^dUTU³lu-bar ziq-<qu> 3 túg^{tu}su-ni-e⁴TÚG.NÍG.ÍB.LÁ.MEŠ šá^dUTU u^dA-a^{5d}GAŠAN Sip-par^{ki}) is a little ambiguous, but because *lubār ziqqu* belongs to the garments of Šamaš and it takes the third position before *sūnus*, I treat it as an element of Šamaš's garments; also three *sūnus* (instead of four) must be recognised as elements of garments of Šamaš and Aya; consequently it seems that for Šarrat Sippar only *hušannus* were issued.

⁶⁶⁸ I emend ^dŠa-la Sip-par^{ki} to GAŠAN Sip-par^{ki}.

⁶⁶⁹ One out of three is decorated with *ayar pani*.

TABLE 12: Clothing for Šarrat Sippar delivered by Nabû-nāšir-apli

<i>lubār kūlulu</i>	<i>hušannu</i>	<i>kaštu</i>	<i>sūnu</i>	<i>paršigu</i>	<i>lubār mē qaqqadi</i>	<i>erru</i>	Text	Date
	x						BM 62119+	Nbn 5
x				x		x	BM 79793+	(Nbn 8)
	x						BM 74440	Nbn 10
	x						Nbn 826	Nbn 15
	x						Nbn 1015	Nbn 16
	x						BM 62108	Cyr 2 ⁶⁷⁰
	x						Cyr 232	Cyr 6
	x		x		x		CT 44, 73	Camb 1

TABLE 13: Clothing for Anunītu delivered by Nabû-bēl-šumāti

<i>hušannu</i>	Text	Date
x	CT 55, 841	Nbn 5

TABLE 14: Clothing for Anunītu delivered by Nabû-nā,ir-apli

<i>lubār kūlulu</i>	<i>lubār mešu</i>	<i>hušannu</i>	<i>sūnu</i>	Text	Date
x	x			BM 79793+	(Nbn 8)
		x	x	BM 62582+	Nbn 10
		x		Nbn 794	Nbn 14
		x		Cyr 232	Cyr 6

⁶⁷⁰ The name of Nabû-nāšir-apli is missing, but it is the time of his activity as the owner of the weaver's prebend.

TABLE 15: Clothing for Adad and Šala delivered by Nabû-bēl-šumāti

<i>lubāru</i>	<i>šibtu</i>	<i>lubār kūlulu</i>	<i>lubār mētu</i>	<i>buṣannu</i>	<i>sūnu</i>	<i>paršigu</i>	Text	Date
				x(10)	x		BM 82578	Nbk 2
				x(5+5)	x		BM 51099	[Nbk] 2
				x(5+5)	ᵀx¹		BM 51447	[Nbk] 3
				x(5+5)	x		BM 50745	[Nbk] 4
				ᵀx¹	x		BM 52110+	Nbk 5
x(A)	x(A)			x(10)	x	x	VS 6, 26	Nbk 6
					x(A)		BM 49992	<Nbk> 7
				x	x		VS 6, 28	Nbk 8
				x	x		BM 49471	Nbk 9
				x	x		BM 49416	Nbk 10
				x(5+5)	x		BM 52475	Nbk 13
		x(A+Š)	x(A)			x(Š)	CT 4, 38a	Nbk 13
				x(A)	x(A)		VS 6, 208	<Nbk> 15
				x(10)	x		CT 55, 844	Nbk 19
x	x	x		x(10)			BM 62543	Nbk 22
				[x(10)]	[x]		CT 55, 837	N[bk] 22
		x(A)	x(A)			x(Š) ⁶⁷¹	BM 62626	Nbk 39
				[x](10)	ᵀx¹		CT 55, 845	Nbk [x]
x(A)	ᵀx¹(A)			x(10)	x(A)	x(Š)	BM 51274	Nbk2+ [x]
				x	x		BM 52731	Nbk [x]
				x([10])	x		BM 50255	Nbk [x]
		[x]		x			BM 52330	[Nbk? x]
				x	x		BM 61920	[Nbk x]
				x(5+5)	x		BM 51659	[Nbk x]
				[x(10)]	x		BM 69280	[Nbk x]
				x(5+5)	x(A)		BM 67542	[Nbk x]
				x(A)			CT 55, 841	Nbn 5

A = Adad; Š = Šala

⁶⁷¹ One out of two *paršigu*s is decorated with *ayar pāni*.

TABLE 16: Clothing for Adad and Šala delivered by Nabû-nāšir-apli⁶⁷²

<i>šibtu</i>	<i>ḥuṣannu</i>	<i>sūnu</i>	Text	Date
	[x] (10)	[x] (A)	BM 66247	Nbn 4
	[x] (10)	ʿx?¹ (A)	BM 62119+	Nbn 5
	x (10)	x (A)	BM 62582+	Nbn 10
x (A)	x (10)	ʿx¹ (A)	BM 62108	Cyr 2 ⁶⁷³
	[x] (10)	ʿx¹ (A)	BM 64673+	Cyr <->

A = Adad; (10) means number of *ḥuṣannus* for both gods.

TABLE 17: Clothing for Gula delivered by Nabû-bēl-šumāti

<i>šibtu</i>	<i>kusītu</i>	<i>naḥlaptu</i>	<i>ḥuṣannu</i>	<i>sūnu</i>	<i>paršigu</i>	<i>lubār kūr- lūlu</i>	Text	Date
	x	ʿx¹			ʿ?¹	x	BM 62626	Nbk 39
x			x	x			BM 65732	Nbk [x]
				x			BM 59834+	Nbn 1

TABLE 18: Clothing for Gula delivered by Nabû-nāšir-apli

<i>šibtu</i>	<i>lubār kūlulu</i>	<i>lubār-eru</i>	<i>paršigu</i>	<i>ḥuṣanu</i>	<i>sūnu</i>	Text	Date
				x (5)	ʿx¹	BM 62119+	Nbn 5
				x (5)	[x?]	BM 62509	Nbn 9 ⁶⁷⁴
				x (5)		BM 62582+	Nbn 10
				x (5)	x	BM 74440	Nbn 10
				ʿx¹ (5)	x	BM 68982	Nbn 14
				x (5)		Nbn 1015	Nbn 15

⁶⁷² Cf. BM 79134 where *lubāru* of Adad and the slave/weavers (Balātu, Nabû-upnīya and Nabû-nāšir) are mentioned.

⁶⁷³ The name of Nabû-nāšir-apli is missing, but it is the time of his activity as the owner of the weaver's prebend.

⁶⁷⁴ See note above.

				x (5)		BM 62108	Cyr 2 ⁶⁷⁵
				x (5)		CT 55, 806	[Nbn/Cyr]
				x (5)	x	BM 64673+	Cyr <->
x	x	x	x	x (5)	x	CT 44, 73	Camb 1

TABLE 19: Garments for the gods – General overview

	Šamaš	Bunene	Adad	Aya	mārāt Ebabbar	Šarrat Sippar	Anunītu	Šala	Gula
<i>kusītu</i>				x	x			x	x
<i>paršīgu</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
<i>naḥlaptu takiltu</i>						x			
<i>naḥlaptu birmu</i>				x		x			
<i>naḥlaptu nabāsu</i>				x	x	x	x	x	x
<i>naḥlaptu</i>				x	x		x		x
<i>lubār ḥubbi/utu</i>						x			
<i>lubār šamamē</i>							x		
<i>lubār qabli</i>							x		
<i>lubar pāni</i>						x			
<i>lubār erru</i>				x		x	x	x	x
<i>lubār mēṭu</i>	x	x	x				x		
<i>lubār kulūlu</i>	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
<i>muttatu</i>	x								
<i>nēbeḥu</i>	x	x	x				x		
<i>patinnu</i>	x	x	x				x		
<i>guḥaššu</i>	x	x	x				x		
<i>ḥullānu</i>	x	x					x		
<i>salḥu</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
<i>sūnu</i>	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
<i>ḥušanunu</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
<i>lubār me qaqqadi</i>	x					x	x		
<i>šibtu</i>	x	x	x				x		x
<i>lubāru</i>	x	x	x				x		

⁶⁷⁵ Cf. n. 673 above.

APPENDIX. THE TEXTILE CRAFTSMEN⁶⁷⁶

Aba-ušur, *išpar birmi* (full name: Abu-šar-ušur)

- 21.7.Dar 28 BM 65841:6 (*takiltu* wool for *pān mušē*)
- 3.1.1.Dar 29 BM 60900:8 [x x x] ^rx x ^mAD¹-ŠEŠ ^{lū}UŠ.BAR)
- 21.6.Dar 29 BM 60776:3 (wool? for *pān mušē* for Šamaš for Abu-ušur, *išpar birri*)
- 12.9.<Dar> 30 BM 61135:22 (²¹1 GÚ.UN 10 *ma-na* SÍG.ĪLA ²²*a-na ta-ḥap-šú šá* ^{r^d}UTU *u* ^{r^d}A¹-a ²³*a-na* ^mAD-LUGAL-ŠEŠ ^{lū}UŠ.BAR ^rSUM¹)
- 12.9.<Dar> 30 BM 79655:28 (1 GÚ.UN 10 *ma-na* SÍG.ĪLA *a-na* ²⁸*ta-ḥap-šú šá* ^qUTU *a-na* ^mAD-ŠEŠ SUM)
- 21.6.Dar 34 BM 65091:5 (^mAD-ŠEŠ ^{lū}UŠ.BAR)
- [x.x].Dar BM 62027:4 (^mAD-ŠEŠ ^{lū}[UŠ.BAR])

Abi-ūl-īdi, *išpar birmi*

- [x.x.Camb⁷] BM 84072:4' (small frg. of a “garment text”; besides other people known as belonging to the “textile industry”: Arad-Bunene, Nidintu/Balāṭu and [x]-*su*/Nabû-ili)

Abi-ūl-īdi, <*išpar kitē*²>

- [x.x.Nbn/Camb 7] BM 61025:7 (without title, however the persons mentioned in this text are known as *išpar kitē*: Bēl-iddin (l. 3'), Bēl-zēri (l. 5'), Šamaš-uballit (l. 6') (*iškaru* text)
- [x].2.Dar 20 BM 62100:10 (deliverer of 2 GADA *salḫu* as *iš-ka-ru* ²*šá* UD.9.KÁM *šá* ^mLib-[*luḫ*] ^{3lū}UŠ.BAR GADA *u* ^{lū}ERĪ[N.MEŠ] ⁴*id-din-nu*)
- [x.x.x] BM 72810:11' (among 14 ^{lū}UŠ.BAR GADA)

Abu-iltammeš, *mukabbû*

- [x].^r12¹.[Nbk] 34 BM 101380:13' (^mAD-*il-tam-meš* ^{lū}TÚG.KAL.KAL)
- [x.x.x] BM 63568 col. I 3' (^mAD]-*il-tam-meš* ^{lū}*mu-kab-bu-ú*)

Ahhē-iddin-Marduk, owner of the weaver's prebend of the small sanctuaries

- 10.[3].Camb [x] BM 63006:4 (wool given for him *ina dullu* [*ša*] *lubuštu ša Anunītu ša Sippar Anunītu* for month Du'uzu)
- [x.x.Ach] BM 61311:3 (wool given for him *ina lubuštu ša* [ITI.ŠU *šá*] *Anunītu*)

Amburu, *išpar kitē/pūšaja*

- 20.5.Camb 1 BM 65741 rev. 4 (title broken, issue of silver for wool)

Ana-Nabû-upniya, *išparu, lamutānu/qallu*

- 3.5.Nbn 1 BM 84214:4, 7 (wool for Nabû-ēreš, Nabû-muk(k)ea ^{r^{lū}}UŠ.BAR¹); ⁷[x] 3 BÂN ŠE.BAR ^{md}AG-*ú-pi-ni*-[*ja* SUM])

⁶⁷⁶ This is a corrected and supplemented version of the list published in ZAWADZKI, *BiOr* 56, pp. 292–302.

- [x.x].Nbn 3 BM 100960 rev. 4'-6' (wool *ana mu-ṣib-tu₄* ^{5'}šá ^{md}AG-ú-pi-ni-e ¹ù¹ ^{6'}ṛ^mBa¹-[ku-u-a])
- 9.4.Nbn 4 BM 84470:5 (issue of wool for *lubuštu ša* ^{iti}DU₆ for Bakûa and ^{md}AG-ú-pi-ni-ja ⁶ú^ula-mu-ta-nu ^{7md}AG-EN-MU.MEŠ ^úUŠ.[BAR] ⁸SUMⁱⁿ)
- [x].2.Nbn 4 BM 59368:2' (frg. of text concerning *takiltu* wool)
- 7.1.Nbn 6 BM 79134:[9], 15 (blue-purple wool and *dullu šá* ^{iti}GUD MU.6.KAM; together with Nabû-nāšir and Bakûa)
- 30.7.Nbn 7 BM 83511:7 (blue-purple wool for ¹lu¹-bu-uš-<tu₄> šá ^{iti}APIN ⁵[MU].7.KÂM; together with Nabû-nāšir and Bakûa)
- [x.x].Nbn 8 BM 79793+ obv. col. I 7, 16; II 6 (*ēpiš nikkassi* concernig garments of the gods; a period from Addaru, year 7, till Simānu, year 8, is mentioned in the text)
- [x.x].Nbn ¹10¹ BM 76963:2' (^{md}AG]-up-ni-ja ^úú (list of garments))
- 12.4.Nbn [x] BM 62178:5 (receipt for wool for *lubuštu* Tašrītu given to Bakûa and [^{md}AG]-up-ni-ja)
- 9.5.Nbn [x] BM 59423:5, 9 (issue of *takiltu*-wool and barley for Nabû-nāšir, Bakûa and Nabû-upnīya)
- [x.x.x] BM 62099 obv. II 9' (one of 11 UŠ.BA[R.MEŠ] in ration list)

Arad-Anunītu

- 9.2.Dar 22 BM 65592:12 (mentioned in an *iškaru* text concerning the delivery of garments for different gods) (courtesy J. MacGinnis)

Arad-Bēl/[Nabû]-nāšir-apli, *išparu*

- 7.7.Camb 7 BM 67125:3 (together with Šamaš-zēri; see the commentary to the text in Part 2)
- [x.x].Camb 7 BM 79603:8 (issue of *kitinnū*)

Arad-Bunene, *išpar birmi*

- 10.6.Camb 3 BM 61107:7 (^mIR-^dĪAR [^úUŠ].¹BAR *bir*¹-[mu])
- 23.2.Dar 7 *OrSu* 49:7 (issue of silver for ^mIR-^dĪ[AR])

Arad-Bunene/Ĥarišānu, *išpar kitê*

- 20.5.Camb 1 BM 65741 rev. 6' (issue of silver for wool) (reconstruct [Ĥarišānu] in BM 64007 = Bertin 1887:31)
- [x.x.x] BM 72810:13' (among 14 ^úUŠ.BAR GADA) (Arad-Bunene is mentioned in also BM 84072:3; cf. Abu-ūl-īdi)

Arad-Bunene/Bēl-aḥa-šubši, <*saqqaja*>

- 11.9.Cyr 0 BM 70160:25 (^mIR-^dĪAR u ^{md}AG-na-ta-nu A.MEŠ šá ^{md}EN-ŠEŠ-¹GÁL^š¹; in a ration list in a separate group together with Paršu/Puršu)

Arad-Nergal/Bēl-kāšir, <*išparu*?>

- 26.2.Dar 30 BM 60553:5 (wool *ana lubuštu ša* ^{iti}KIN šá MU.30.KÂM for A-N/B-k)

Ardia, *mupaššû*

- 25.3.Nbn 10+[x³] BM 66445:3 (^mIR-ja ^{lu}mu-pa-šu-ú)
 27.1.Nbn [x] BM 64941 rev. 4' (^mIR-ja mu-pa-šu-ú)
 [Nbn 8 – Cyr 5] BM 67534+ (courtesy of M. Kunert; ^mIR-ja ^{lu}mu-pa-š[ú]-ú)
 20.5.Camb 1 BM 65741:6 (^{lu}mu-pa-šu-ú; issue of silver for wool)

Ardia/Šamaš-šum-iddina, *išpar birmu*

- 3.3.[KN] 1 BM 72855:8' (issue of one shekel of silver for A. ^{lu}UŠ.BAR)
 28.2.Dar 1⁷¹ BM 70592:8' (received wool for *tahapšu* of Ayaru, seventeenth year)
 15.1.Dar 18 BM 61970:3 (issue of *takiltu*-wool for garments of Šamaš for ^mIR-ja, without title)
 5.5.Dar 18 BM 64577:4 (issue of wool for *sūnu* for Šarrat-Sippar; ^{lu}UŠ.BAR *birmu*)
 11.6.Dar 19 BM 64644:6 (^{lu}UŠ.BAR; issue of half mina of white silver and 7 shekels of *ginnu* silver for [x] *gabû*)
 25.[x].Dar 18 BM 65103:7 (delivery of *hūratu*-dye and alum from ^{umu}Kašappi for A. *išparu ana šipi*)
 3.[x].Dar 32 BM 67854:4' (issue of coloured wool; ^{lu}UŠ.BAR only)

Arrabi, *mukabbû*

- 24.2.Nbn 2 BM 65041:5 (*kitinnu* for *šibtu* ... *ina* IGI ^mAr-rab-bi ^l[^u...])
 6.2.Nbn 5 BM 64591:6 (^{lu}TUG.KAL.KAL)
 6².2.Nb[n²] 6 BM 84140:8 (left part of tablet of 11 lines concerning garments)
 9.5.¹Nbn¹ 6 BM 61574 rev. 6' (in a small frg. of text concernig KUR.RA-garments; in obv. 2 *šābē ša* ^{lu}*qīpi* are mentioned)
 20.5.Camb 1 BM 65741:8 (^{lu}TUG.KAL.KAL; issue of silver for wool)
 [21.2.KN] 3 BM 66582:1 (GADA *šá a-na bat-qa a-na* ^mAr-rab ^{lu}TUG.KAL.KAL)
 [x.x.x] BM 61364 rev. 8' (7¹PAP 14 GADA *ina* IGI ^{md}UTU-*it-ti-iá* ⁸*u* ^mAr-rab-*bi*)
 [x.x.x] BM 59309:8 (^{lu}TUG.KAL.KAL)

Bakûa, *lamutānu/qallu* of Nabû-nāšir-apli *išparu*

- 24.[x].Nbn 0 BM 71878:3 (wool for [^mBa]-^rku¹-ú-a ⁴[^{lu}qal-la *šá* ^{md}]AG-EN-MU. MEŠ ⁵[^{lu}U]Š.BAR)
 10.8.[Nbn] 1 BM 59834+BM 58028 (= CT 55, 851):1 (^mBa-ku-ú-a ^u ^{md}[AG-PAP] ²^{lu}*la-'*-*ta-nu* *šá* ^{md}AG-EN-MU. MEŠ ^{lu}[UŠ.BAR])
 [x.x].Nbn 3 BM 65913:14 (text concerns wool for *lubuštu* ^{iti}KIN)
 [x.x.Nbn] 3 BM 100960 rev. ¹6¹ (cf. Ana-Nabû-upnīya)
 [x].3.Nb[n] 5 BM 99937:3 (issue of wool for *lubuštu a-na* B. [^uqal-la *šá*] ^{4md}AG-na-*šir*-IBILA [^{lu}UŠ.BAR])

- 4.[x].Nbn 5 BM 67934:2 (^mB[a-ku-ú-a] ^{3md}AG-PAP ^{md}UTU-ri-š[u-ú-a] ^{4u} ^{md}AG-up-ni-ja)
- 7.1.Nbn 6 BM 79134:8, 14 (blue-purple and red wool *ana dullu šá* ^{iti}GUD MU.6.KÁM; together with Nabû-nāšir and Nabû-upnīya)
- 30.7.Nbn 7 BM 83511:6 (cf. Ana-Nabû-upnīya)
- 20+x.8.Nbn 7 BM 65047:6 (*qalla* of N-b-š)
- 13.6.Nbn [8] BM 83281:4 (wool *ana dullu ša* ^{iti}x... *ana* Bakûa *la*[*mutānu* of Nabû-nāšir-apli ^{lu}UŠ.BAR])
- 12.11.Nbn 8 BM 64937:5 (wool for work for ^{iti}ŠE, year 8 and ^{iti}BÁR, year 9)
- [x.x.Nbn] 8 BM 79793+ obv. col. I 6, 12; II 6, ¹¹1² (cf. Ana-Nabû-upnīya)
- 20.5.Nbn ⁹1 BM 62962:6 (*qallu* of Nabû-bēl-šumāti; issue of *inzahurētu*-dye for dyeing SÍG.ÜZ (?))
- 4.7.Nbn 10 BM 62582+:1 (*dullu pešû* list of garments; ^mBa-ku-[ú-a] ^{2lu}*qal-la šá* ^{md}AG-na-šir-<A> ^{lu}UŠ.BAR)
- 19.7.Nbn 10 BM 67252:4, 6 (wool *ana dullu šá* ITI.ŠE)
- 15.7.Nbn 11 BM 72315:6 (frg. of small tablet of 9 lines concerning garments for *lubuštu* ceremony; lines 1–2 and 5 are fully broken; ^mBa-ku-ú-a ^{lu}UŠ.BAR] ¹GADA? ¹šá ^{md}PA-PAP-A)
- 21.8.Nbn 13 BM 60933:7 (wool for ⁴*nî-bi-ḥu ku-si-tu*₄ ¹*pa-tin*[?]-*nî*¹ ⁵šá M[U.13. KÁ]M MU.14.KÁM ⁶[a-na] ^{md}AG-na-šir-A ⁷[u] ^mBa-a-ku-ú-a ^{<lu>}*qal-li-šû* SUM^m)
- 27.[x.Nbn] 13 BM 64920:5 (silver *ina pappasu išparûtu ša* ^{iti}Tašrītu for Nabû-nāšir-apli and Bakûa)
- 2¹4¹. [x.Nbn] 14 BM 83668:8 (wool, *inzahurētu*-dye and alum for garments of Anunītu)
- 29.10.Nbn 15 BM 101418:3 (wool [ana] *lubuštu ša* ^{iti}BÁR [ana ^{md}AG]-PAP-A ^u ^mBa-ku-ú-a ^{lu}UŠ.BAR)
- 12.4.[Nbn] 16 BM 76393 rev. 5⁹
- [x.5⁹.Nbn 16⁹] BM 101215:7⁹ (frg. at the heading: ³[x x x] ^{iti}NE MU.9.KÁM ⁴[x x x] *a-di-i* ^{iti}NE MU.16.KÁM *ina lib-bi* ⁵[x] ^{5/6} *ma-na* KÛ. BABBAR *a-na* ^{md}U+GUR-MU *e-piš-an-nu* SUM; after ruling line: ⁶[x x x] ¹KÛ¹.BABBAR *šá a-na dul-lu a-na* ^{md}AG-PAP-A ⁷[x x x] ^mBa-ku-ú-a ^{lu}UŠ.BAR SUM^{na}).
- 16.1.Nbn 17 BM 61216:3 (*qalla* of Nabû-nāšir-apli ^{lu}UŠ.BAR)
- 5⁹. [6⁹.Nbn] 17 BM 101687:4 (36 shekels of *takiltu*-wool ²[TA/šá SÍ]G.Û.I.A *šá* ^dUTU *u* ^dĪAR ³[a-na lu-bu-u]š-tu₄ *šá* ^{iti}DU₆ ⁴[a-na ^mBa]-ku-ú-a ^{lu}UŠ.BAR SUM^m)
- 12.4.Nbn [x] BM 62178:4 (receipt for wool for *lubuštu* Tašrītu given to B. and [Nabû]-upnīya)
- 9.5.Nbn [x] BM 59423:4, 8 (issue of *takiltu*-wool and barley for Nabû-nāšir, Bakûa and Nabû-upnīya)

- 20[+x²].5.Nbn [x] BM 66810:9 (issue of wool)
- 12.8.Nbn [x] BM 67525:2 (issue of blue-purple wool; also [Balas]su is mentioned here)
- x+2.8.[Nbn x] BM 62065:1 (frg. of typical *dullu pešû* text; together with Nabû-nāšir)
- 4.12.Nbn [x] BM 101301:5 (blue-purple wool for [^mBa-ku-ú-a] ⁶lú^{qal-la} šá^{md}AG¹[-PAP-A] ⁷lú^{UŠ.BAR})
- 12.12.Nbn [x] BM 76129:2 (*dullu pešû* list; ^mB)a-ku-ú-a ^{lú}qal-la šá^{md}AG-[PAP-A ^{lú}UŠ.BAR])
- [x.x.x] BM 64205:15' (with Nabû-nāšir-apli)
- [x.x.x] BM 65341:6 (*qalla* of Nabû-nāšir-apli)
- [x.x.x] BM 101428 rev. 5' (barley, *rihi* ŠUKU.HI.A [...] ⁶[...] ^{md}AG-PAP ^mBa-ku-ú-a¹)

The idea that Bakûa was a son of Nabû-ukîn (BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 353) based on Cyr 201 is unlikely. Bakûa was responsible only for one garment of Šamaš (l. 9) and for garments for other gods and goddesses (l. 10–17), while the son of Nabû-ukîn was responsible for the garments of Šamaš mentioned in lines 4–8.

Balassu, *išpar kitê*

- 12.4.Nbn 11 BM 61015, rev. 10 (^mBa-la-a-[tu], *išpar kitê*; courtesy J. MacGinnis)
- 12.8.Nbn [x] BM 67525:1 ([x x]-su ²lú^{UŠ.BAR} GADA). Also Bakûa is mentioned here.

Balassu/Nabû-nāšir, <*išparu*>

- 3.4.[Nbk?] 31 BM 66139:5 ([...^mTIN-su ^{lú}UŠ.BA[R ...])
- [x.x].Nbn 3 BM 65913:5 (wool for *lubuštu* ¹¹KIN given to ^mBa-lat-su A-[šú] ⁶šá^{md}AG-PAP u ^mKab-ti-iá [A-šú] ⁷šá^{md}U+GUR-¹DÜ^{uš} x x x¹ and again in rev. ¹⁰pap-pa-as-su ^{lú}[U]Š.BAR^{mes} a-na ¹¹^mBa-[lat]-su u ^mKab-ti-iá)

Balāṭu, <*išparu*?>

- [x.x].Cyr 4 BM 64903:6 (*mu-šip-tu*₄ šá a-na ²su-ni-e na-šá-a)

Balāṭu, *ašlāku*

- [x.x].Nbn 15 BM 71925:2 (*miḥṣu tenû* list; Ba-la-ṭu ^{lú}T[ÚG.BABBAR])
- 28.5.Nbn 16 BM 70252:2 (*miḥṣu tenû* list; Ba-la-ṭu ^{lú}TÚG.BABBAR¹)

Balāṭu/Nabû-bēl-šumāte, *išparu*

- [x.x.Nbk] ¹3¹³ BM 83271:3 (*kitinnu* and *takiltu* as *pappasu*)
- 16.12.<Nbk> 41 BM 61611:5 (3 shekels of silver delivered by the slave of his father)
- 11.7.Nrg 0 BM 101299:5 (wool for ^mBa-la-ṭu ⁶[A-šú šá ^m] ^dAG-¹EN-MU¹.MEŠ ⁷[^{lú}UŠ.BAR])
- 14.2.Nrg [x] BM 62123:4 (11 shekels of silver for ^mBa-la-ṭ[u] ⁵rA¹ ^{md}AG-EN-MU.MEŠ) (courtesy R. Tarasewicz)
- 24.5.Nbn 2 BM 83699:2 (issue of barley and beer as his *pappasu*)

- 28.5.Nbn 2 BM 78548:4 (^{lu}UŠ.BAR; without the father's name; received 3 pi 2 sūtu of barley, *babtu* of 1 KÛR barley and 1 vat of beer of good quality)
- 5.7.Nbn 3 BM 67964:4 (25 shekels of [*kī*]-ⁱtin¹-*nu* for *guḥaḥṣēti* of Anunītu *a-na* B. ^{lu}UŠ.BAR)
- 10.7.Nb[n] 3 BM 66460:3 (wool *ina* ²sat-tuk *šá* ^{iti}APIN MU.3.KÁM ^mBa-la-*ṭu* A ^{md}AG-EN-MU.MEŠ ^{4lu}UŠ.BAR)
- [x].2.[KN x] BM 101847:10' (frg. of right part of tablet concerning *takiltu* wool ⁹[*a-na lu-bu-uš*]-*tu* ⁴šá ^{iti}APIN ¹⁰[*a-na* ^mBa-la-*ṭu* ¹¹[A-šú *šá* ^{md}AG-EN]-MU.MEŠ)
- 3.1.[KN x] BM 79616:6 (*išparu*; the father's name is broken)
- He might be present in *OrSu* 50, no. 20: 4, 6 (mentioned first and second year of unnamed king (received 26½ talents of wool ²TA ITI.NE MU.1.[KÁM] *a-di* ^{iti}AB MU.2.K[ÁM])).

Bazuzu, *išpar kitē*

- 8.12¹.Nbn 12 BM 68902:5 (ledger of garments delivered by *išpar kitē*)
- [x.x.x] BM 65057:1, 8 (in a list of *išpar kitē*, maybe the supervisor)
- [x.x.x] BM 72810:15' (among 14 ^{lu}UŠ.BAR GADA)

Ba-[...], *išparu*

- 10.12.¹Cyr¹1[+x²] BM 63745:2 (extremely badly preserved *dullu pešū* text)

Bēl-aḡa-itannu/ Sīn-ilī, owner of the weather prebend (?)

- 16.[x.Dar x?] BM 66041:4 (received wool *a-na za-hu-ár-e-ti* ù [x x x]; compare BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 244)
- [x.x.x] BM 72999:8' (received [wool?] for *uzāri ša andullu* of Šarrat Sippar)

Bēl-aḡa/aḡḡē-šubši, *išpar kitē*

- [x.x.x] BM 65057:3 (in a list of *išpar kitē*, maybe under supervision of Bazuzu)

Bēl-bunaku

- (ca. 8.[Dar] 20) BM 65729 rev. 6' (frg. of an *iškaru* list; without title)

Bēl-ēṭir-Nabû, <*išparu birmi*²> (or merchant³)

- 28.4.Nbn 4 BM 73111:4 (2 minas of silver for one talent 55 shekels of *inzaḥurētu ana* ^mEN-KAR-^dAG)

Bēl-ibni (?)

- [x.x.x] BM 61438:13 (⁹2 [GÍN(?) K]Û.BABBAR *a-na* 3 *ma-n*[a x x] ¹⁰*dul-lu* BABBAR-*ú* *šá* ^{lu}UŠ.BAR ¹x¹ ¹¹*a-na* ^{md}AG-DU-A *u* ^{md}EN-DU [(x x)] ^{12lu}UŠ.BAR.MEŠ *šá dul-lu* ITI.ZÍ[Z (x x)] ¹³*it-qu* SUM^m). The reading of the name is uncertain; the different possibility is: Bēl-bāni-[x].

Bēl-iddina/Balāṭu, *išpar kitē*

- 8.12¹.Nbn 12 BM 68902:8 (ledger of garment delivered by *išpar kitē*)
- [x.x].Camb 7 BM 79603:4 (issue of *kitinnū*; without title)

[x.x.x] BM 65057 rev. 6' (in a list of *išpar kitê*, under the supervision of Šulā)

[Bē]l(?) -iddina

(ca. 8.[Dar] 20) BM 65729:9' (frg. of an *iškaru* list; ^{md}EN-M[U], without title)

9.2.Dar 22 BM 65592:13 (mentioned in an *iškaru* text concerning the delivery of garments for different gods; courtesy J. MacGinnis)

(Bēl)-Iqīša, *išpar kitê*

[x.x].Kand 15 BM 50209+:6, 17 (text concerning garments for gods)

9.2.Nbp 3 BM 49883 rev. 2' (^mBA^{šá}; text concerns also Dummuqu)

([x.x].<Nbp> 10) BM 49757:15, 17–20. The text concerns wool and the garments of the gods for the ninth and tenth years; Dummuqu is also mentioned.

[x.x.KN] 10 BM 52636:5' (LAL.MEŠ ^{šá} ^mBA^{šá}-a 5 GÚ.UN 34 TÚG.BAR [or: *lu-bar* [... (frg. of text concerning garments))

Bēl-ittannu, *ašlāku/mukabbū*

26.1.Dar 28 BM 64564:4 (18 GÍN [KÚ.BABBAR TA É][?] *qu-up-pu* [...*ana*]^(?)
50 GÍN *inzah*[*urētu*...] ^{md}EN-*it-tan-nu* ^m[...])

Bēl-ittannu, *išpar birmi*

27.¹⁹1.Dar 25 BM 65114:2, rev. 2' (^{lū}UŠ.BAR *bir-ri*)

Bēl-šunu/Šulā

9.2.Dar 22 BM 65592:11 (mentioned in an *iškaru* text concerning the delivery of garments for different gods; courtesy J. MacGinnis)

Bēl-šunu, *saqqaja*

[x.x.x] BM 62099 rev. I 20

Bēl-šunu, *ēpišānu*

[x].8.[KN] 31 BM 66777:3 (wool for *lubuštu* ^{iti}ŠE *ana* ^{m<d>}EN-*šú-nu e-piš-<šá>-nu* /*[x x]-liṭ-su* SUM^{na})

Bēl-ušallim, <*išparu?*>

14.5.Nbp 6 *OrSu* 50, no. 9: 2 (together with Nabû-zē-ibni; received wool for *lubuštu* Ulūlu; his identity with Bēl-ušallim/Bāniya is improbable)

Bēl-ušallim/Bāniya, *išparu ša Nergal*

10.2.Nbn 8 BM 62479:4 (2 shekels of silver for 2 *patinnus* of Šamaš and Bunene was given to ^{md}EN-GI ^{lū}rUŠ¹.[BAR ^{šá} ^dU+GUR]). Concerning the second mention in Nbn 410: 9, see BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 323)

Bēl-zēri, *išpar kitê; ašlāku*

[x.x.Nbn/Camb 7] BM 61025:5' (cf. Abi-ūl-īdi)

[x].2.Dar 20 BM 62100:13 (deliverer of 2 GADA *sal-ḥu* as *iš-ka-ru* ²*šá* UD.9.KÁM ^{šá} ^mLib-[*luṭ*]^{3lū}UŠ.BAR GADA *u* ^{lū}ERĪ[N.MEŠ]⁴*id-din-nu*)

[x.x.Dar] 21 BM 66238:6 (^rEN¹-NUMUN ^{lū}TÚG.BABBAR). In l. 9 [Gu]zānu, *šangū* of Sippar is mentioned.

[x.x.x] BM 72810:3' (among 14 ^{lú}UŠ.BAR GADA; the name is badly preserved and the reading is uncertain: ^{md}rEN¹-NU[MUN])

Bunene-ibni/(Ana)-Nabû-upnīya, head of team of *išpar kitê/pūšaya*

12.4.Nbn 11 BM 61015, rev. 10 (^{md}HAR-DÜ u ^mBa-la-a-tu/ ^{lú}UŠ.BAR GADA; courtesy J. MacGinnis)

8.'2¹.Nbn 12 BM 68902:4 (^{md}HAR-DÜ a-na za-ki-ú²; ledger of garment delivered by *išpar kitê*)

13.[x].Nbn 13 BM 79784:25 (^{lú}UŠ.BAR GADA; without father's name)

10.12b.Cyr 3 BM 73628:3 (silver TA *ir-bi* ²[a-n]a ¹gíd-li¹-e ³[ina Š]U² ^{md}Bu-ne-ne-DÜ)

[x.x.x] BM 73825:2 (delivery of *uzāri ša andullum* of Anunnītu; ^{lú}UŠ.BAR)

[x.x.x] BM 65057:2 (in a list of *išpar kitê*, maybe under supervision of Bazuzu)

(In BM 55011:1 I read [SÍG.HI.A a-na] ^{lú}UN.MEŠ *šá dul-lu ip-pu-uš* SUM; contra Bongenaar, *Ebabbar*, p. 324)

Bunene-šarra-ušur, *išpar birmī/mukabbû*

15.10.Nbn 11 BM 64983:6 (^{md}HAR-{DÜ}-LUGAL-ŠEŠ ⁷^{lú}UŠ.[BAR] *bir-[ri-ī]m*)

Bunene-šimanni/Šulā, overseer of the <*išparātu kitê*>/*mukabbû*

3.1.Nbk 42 BM 101467:5 (frg. of the left side of the tablet enumerating *hullānu*, *salḫu*, *erru* ⁵PAP 3 *ki-[x x]* ⁶ina IGI ^{md}rHAR¹-[*ši-man-ni*] ⁷^{lú}TUG.KAL.KAL)

8.'2¹.Nbn 12 BM 68902:22 (at the end of the ledger of the garments delivered by *išpar kitê*)

12.5.Nbn 13 BM 66160:6 (wool *ta-bar-ri x* [... ⁵a-na bat-qa ina p[a-ni] ⁶^{md}HAR-*ši-ma-an-[ni SUM^{na}]*)

28.2.Nbn 15 BM 61218:5 (*takiltu* wool for *paršīgu* for B-š)

6.4.Nbn 15 BM 65259:5 (^{md}HAR-*ši-man-ni* ^{lú}T[ÚG.KAL.KAL; issue of garments *ana batqa*)

8.2.Nbn [x] BM 66847:4 (*šamni šá a-na pu-ša-a-a*)

<x.x>.Camb 2 BM 84054:4,11,17 (*sim-ma-nu-ú šá a-na pu-šu-ú* ²*šá iš-ka-ri šá* MU.2.KÁM ³*mKám-bu-zi-ja* ⁴a-na ^{md}HAR-*ši-man-an-ni SUM^{na}*)

[x.x.Camb [x] BM 73696:8 (^{md}HAR-*š[i-man-ni]*) and l. 10 (^{md}HAR-*ši[-man-ni]*) (small frg. concerning wool)

[x].4².Dar x+2 BM 61226:3 (20 minas of *inzaḫurētu* for B-š)

4.'2².Dar¹ [x] BM 61942:2, 12 (list of garments for gods)

[x.x.Nbn/Camb 7] BM 61025 rev. 5, 7; (⁴PAP 3 GADA *sal-ḫi iš-ka-ri* ⁵*šá* MU.7.KÁM *ri-ḫi ina* IGI ^{md}HAR-*ši-man-an-ni* ⁶e-lat GADA *sal-ḫu ri-ḫi* ¹ú¹ [...] ⁷*šá ina* IGI ^{md}HAR-*ši-man-an-[ni]*)

- [x].12.[KN] 0 BM 65211:3' (in fragmentary preserved text mentioning *nēbeḫu* and *adilānu ša kusītu*)
- [x.x.x] BM 69406:3' (frg. of the *tabū* list)
- [x.x.x] BM 72810:22' (the overseer of 14 *išpar kitē*: ²¹PAP ^{lū}ERÍ.N.MEŠ ^{lū}UŠ.BAR GADA ²²šá ŠUⁱⁱmdHAR-ši-[*man-ni*])
- [x.x.x] BM 83918 rev. 4' (^{lū}TÚG.KAL.^lKAL^l); the text concerns issue of wool for people of different professions)

Dummuqu, *išparu*

- [x.x].Kand 15 BM 50209+:19–20 (text concerning garments for the gods)
- 9.2.Nbp 3 BM 49883:3 (delivery of headbands)
- ([x.x].Nbp 10) BM 49757:5, 11'. The text concerns wool and the garments of the gods for the ninth and tenth years; Iqīša is also mentioned; cf. under Bēl-iqīša)
- 1¹⁹.5.Nbp 11 BM 50293:1 (wool ^mDu-m[*uq*] ²ina *hāḫu* for year 11)
- 3.1.<Nbp> 13 BM 49304:5 (*lubuštu ša* ^{iti}BÁR)
- <x>.3.Nbp 13 BM 50623 rev. 2, 4–6 (receipt of wool)
- 2.3.[Nbp] 16 BM 50963 rev. 10
- 3.1.Nbp 17 BM 49268:8 (receipt of garments for Šamaš, Aya and Bunene)

Dummuqu/Nādin, <*išpar kitē*>

- [x].2.Dar 20 BM 62100:16 (deliverer of 1 GADA *sal-ḫu* GAL as *iš-ka-ru* ²šá UD.9.KÁM šá ^mLib-[*lu*] ^{3lū}UŠ.BAR GADA *u* ^{lū}ERÍ[N.MEŠ] ⁴*id-din-nu*). The name is written ^mDu-um-<*mu*>-*qu*; without the father's name)
- 9.2.Dar 22 BM 65592:10 (^mDu-ú-<*mu*>-*qu* ŠEŠ-šú, i.e. the brother of Nidintu-Nādin; an *iškaru* list; delivery of two linen *salḫu*, probably for the Daughters of Eabbar; courtesy J. MacGinnis)

Ebiru, *išparu*

- 12.[x].Dar 5 BM 65131:2

Gimillu/Šāpik-zēri, *išpar (birmī)*

- 19.12.Camb 4 BM 66823:4 (red wool for *nēbeḫu* of Šamaš and Bunene)
- 22.1.Camb [x] BM 99462:6 (in a broken list of garments of the gods)
- 19.7.Nbk 1 BM 69003 rev. 9' (silver for *inzaḫurētu* ⁹*a-na* ^mGimil-lu
(= Nbk IV) ¹⁰A ^mDUB-NUMUN SUM)
- [ca Nbn-Camb] BM 101638:4' (^{lū}UŠ.BAR *bir-mu*; frg. of text mentioning persons of different professions)

Gimillu, *išpar kitē*

- [x].2.Dar 20 BM 62100:15 (deliverer of 1 GADA *sal-<ḫu> ḫu-la-nu* as *iš-ka-ru* ²šá UD.9.KÁM šá ^mLib-[*lu*] ^{3lū}UŠ.BAR GADA *u* ^{lū}ERÍ[N.MEŠ] ⁴*id-din-nu*)

Gimillu, ašlāku (?)

3.8.Dar 17 BM 62996:3 (sesame for ^{3r}*mGi-mi*^l-*lu* ^{lú}TÚG.[BABBAR])

Ḫarišānu, išpar kitê

20.5.Camb 1 BM 65741 rev. 8' (silver for wool for H.; title broken)

Iddia, mukabbû

20.5.Camb 1 BM 65741:11 (silver for wool for I.)

Iltammeš-ilāja, <išpar kitê?>

[x].2.Dar 20 BM 62100:11–12 (deliverer of 4 GADA *sal-lu* as *iš-ka-ru* ²*šá* UD.9.KÁM *šá* ^m*Lib*-[*lu*]^{3lú}UŠ.BAR GADA *u* ^{lú}ERÍ[N.MEŠ] ⁴*id-din-nu*; note the specific writing of the name: ^m*Il-tam-meš*-¹²*i-la-a*)

Iqīša, mukabbû

20.5.Camb 1 BM 65741:9 (silver for wool for ^mBA^{šá}-*a-a* ^{lú}KI.MIN (= TÚG. KAL.KAL)). Maybe identical with Šamaš-zēr-iqīša.

Iqīša, išparu

[x.x.x] BM 64205:3'

Išum-ibni, <išparu or qallu/lamutānu ša išpari>

30.5.Cyr [x] BM 70333:2 (*dullu pešû ša lubuštu* ²*šá* ^{md}*I-šum-DÙ* *u* ^m*La-qi*[*p*'] ³*id-din-nu*)

Išum-iddin, <išparu>

1.6.Nbk 10 BM 49416:6 (^{md}*I-šum-MU*; delivery of the garments for Šamaš and Bunene)

Išum-x, [išparu]

[x.x].Nbn 7 BM 83329:1 (*dullu pešû* list; ^mBE-*ja u* ^{md}*I-š*[*um*?'-*x* ^{lú}UŠ.BAR.MEŠ?])

Itti-enšu-Nabû, <išparu> (??)

1.2.Nbn 5 BM 73254:5 (garments for Aya and GAŠAN.MEŠ sent to Sippar *ina* ŠUⁱⁱ ^m*It-ti-en-šû*-^dAG)

Kabtija/Nergal-ēpuš, išparu

[x.x].Nbn 3 BM 65913:6, rev. 11 (cf. above Balāssu/Nabû-nāšir)

[x.x].Nbn 7 BM 83329:1 (*dullu pešû* list; ^mBE-*ja u* ^{md}*I-š*[*um*-*x* ^{lú}UŠ.BAR.MEŠ?])

Kalbā/[...], <išparu>

30.5.Camb 7 BM 61517:1 ([*dullu pešû ša lub*] *uštu ša* UD.3.KÁM *šá* ^{iti}KIN ... *šá* ^m*Kal-ba-a* [A-*šu šá* ^mx x x *u* ^{md}GN]-TIN^{ti} A ^{md}AG-*ki-šir ana Ebabba-ra iddinū*)

Maybe identical with Kalbā/Kabtia (see BONGENAAR, *Ebabbar*, p. 328). Kalbā, the weaver, is also mentioned in BM 59227:3 (*dullu pešû* lists; date broken).

Kinenaya, ašlāku

[x.x.x] BM 73088:5' (^r^m*Ki-ne-na-a-a* ^{lú}TÚG.BABBAR)

Kī-Šamaš, išpar kitê (?)

[x.x.x] BM 65057 rev. 4' (in a list of *išpar kitê*, under the supervision of Šulā)

Kudurru/Nabû-bêl-šumāti, išparu

[x.x.x] BM 62099 obv. II 10' (the last of 11 weavers in ration list)

Lābāši/Šulā, išpar kitê

8.12¹.Nbn 12 BM 68902:11 (ledger of garments delivered by *išpar kitê*)

30.[x].[Nb]n¹ [x] BM 76771:1 (*dullu pešû* list; [^mLa]-ba-a-ši¹UŠ¹.[BAR])

Lāqīpu, išpar birmi

30.5.Cyr [x] BM 70333:2 (cf. above Išum-ibni)

26.11.Dar 2[3] BM 83877 rev. 6' (wool *ina* ŠUKU.[HI.A...]⁶ a-na^m La-qip-pi¹ [...]); the identification supports presence of Šamaš-šum-iddin and the mention of ¹ušpar birmi in rev. 3')

Libluṭ, mukabbû

27.1.Nbn [x] BM 64941:2 (linen garments for Bunene)

Libluṭ, išpar birmi/mukabbû

17.6.Camb 2 BM 66261B:8 (¹TÚG.¹KAL¹.K[AL])

11.6b.<Camb> 3 BM 65050:2 (5 *ma-na* SÍG.HI.A^{2m} Lib-luṭ^{3lú} TÚG.KAL.KAL). Note the exceptional writing of ^mKIN 2-na.KÁM)

Libluṭ/Uššāja, išpar kitê/pūšaja

[x.x.Nbn/Camb 7] BM 61025:3' (cf. above Abi-ūl-īdi)

8.12¹.Nbn 12 BM 68902:15 (ledger of garments delivered by *išpar kitê*)

[x].12.Dar 20 BM 62100:2 (*iš-ka-ru*² šá UD.9.KÁM šá^m Lib-[luṭ]^{3lú} UŠ.BAR GADA^u ¹ERÍ[N.MEŠ]⁴ id-din-nu)

One of two persons of this name is probably also mentioned in BM 62099 obv. II 4' (^mLib-[luṭ] among 11 ¹UŠ.B[AR.MEŠ]).

Līšīru, išpar kitê (?)

21.9.[KN x] BM 65206:4

This is a “note” enumerating KUR.RA-garments, followed by names. I decided to identify them as persons belonging to the textile craftsmen because all of them (except Talīmu) are noted as *išparu*.

Lū-īdiya, išpar kitê

[x.x.x] BM 72810:6' (among 14 ¹UŠ.BAR GADA)

Madānu-ah-iddin, pušaya

<x x x> BM 77453:2

Marduk-rēmāni, (/Bêl-uballit/Šāhit ginê), ašlāku and/or išparu

12.[x].[Dar] 18 BM 66202:5 (wool for *ši-pa-tu*⁴ šá^d UTU)

3.1.Dar 29 BM 60900:6 (wool *a-na* šib-ti^{meš} šá UD.10.KAM⁶ [šá]^{ti} GUD MU.29.KÁM *a-na* M-r)

Muranātu, išpar kitê

20.5.Camb 1 BM 65741 rev. 9' (silver for wool for M.)

[x.x.x] BM 65057 rev. 7' (in a list of *išpar kitê*, under the supervision of Šulā)

[x.x.x] BM 72810:17' (among 14 ^{lu}UŠ.BAR GADA)

Nabû-aḫi-šu

31.2.Dar 22 BM 65133:4 (linen *ṭumanu* [for] *pān muṣê* [of the god x])

Nabû-aḫa-ušur, saqqaja

23.10.<Nbp> 20 BM 50054:12 (in text concerning *kaspu šá ana SÍG IGI*)

Nabû-aḫḫê-iddina, išpar kitê /pūšaja

[x.x].D[ar] 13 BM 65035:4 (issue of wool for *lubuštu* Šamaš for Nabû-aḫḫê-iddina¹)

Nabû-apla-iddina, išpar kitê

2.8.Nbn 7 BM 79383:5 (blue-purple wool for *sūnu ša bīt Anunnītu* ⁴*a-na* ^{md}AG-A-MU ⁵[u] ^m*Ri-ḫi-tu*₄)

Nabû-bēl-šumāti/Dummqu, išparu

1'2'.8.Nbp [x] BM 52361:6 (early ...*dullu pešû* ... list of garments)

5.7.Nbk 2 BM 82578:17 (delivery of garments for Šamaš, Aja, Šarrat Sippar, Adad and Šala)

[x.x.Nbk] 2 BM 51099, obv. col. I 12'; rev. col. II 7' (yearly² account concerning garments for the gods)

[x.x.Nbk] 3 BM 51447 obv. col. I 4', 11'; rev. col. I 1', 12' (content identical with the previous text)

(2.12.[Nbk] 3) BM 50066:8' (content identical the previous text text)

[x.x.Nbk] 4 BM 50745, obv. col. I 6'; col. II 7', rev. col. I 6', 12', 22'; col. II [12'] (the same content as in BM 51099 and BM 51447)

20.8.Nbk 5 BM 49580:4, 11 (similar to VS 6, 16)

20.8.Nbk 5 BM 78914:7 (similar to BM 49580)

26.6.Nbk 6 BM 82586:8 (delivery of garments for Šarrat-Sippar)

4.1.<Nbk> 7 BM 49992:10 (delivery of garments for Šamaš, Aja, Bunene and Adad; the text has a form typical of texts from Nbp to early Nbk)

22.9.Nbk 8 BM 49273:4 (GI.[MEŠ] *ina* IGI N-b-š)

5.6².Nbk 9 BM 49471:10 ([*išparu*]; delivery of garments for Šamaš, Aja, Bunene, Adad and Šala)

1.6.Nbk 10 BM 49416:10 (delivery of *sūnu* and *ḫušannu* for Adad for ^{iti}KIN)

2.11.Nbk 10 BM 79326:6 (delivery of garments *ša* ^{iti}ZÍZ)

1'2'.11.Nb[k x] BM 51148:14 (early ...*dullu pešû* ... list of garments)

22+.11².Nbk 12 BM 49621:7 (*išparu*)

[x].3.Nbk 13	BM 52285:5 (delivery of woolen clothing)
8.[x].Nbk 13	BM 52475:7', rev. '3'¹ (frg. of a text similar to BM 51099 and others)
12.[x].Nbk 14	BM 50179:1, 7 (text similar to BM 51099, BM 51447, BM and others)
[x.x].Nbk 14	BM 51422:18' (similar to BM 51099 and others)
[x.x.Nbk] 19	BM 65976:4' (¹⁰ UŠ.BAR; wool <i>ana dullu ša šiddu ša É-babbar-[ra]</i>)
[x].4.[Nbk] 21	BM 62179:6' (text concerning wool; year and month mentioned in the text)
8.2.Nbk 22	BM 62543:3 (delivery of garments for Šamaš [...] Adad and Šala)
19.[x].Nbk 23	BM 83316:4 (in text concerning wool)
21.[x.Nbk] 23	BM 76416 rev. 3' (UŠ.BAR; very small frg.)
8.2.Nbk 39	BM 62626:2 (wool <i>nabāsu</i> und <i>takiltu</i> for garments of the gods)
6.2.Nbk [x]	BM 65732:17 (delivery of garments of the gods)
7.2.Nb[k x]	BM 50342:6, L.h.e. 2 (early <i>dullu pešû</i> ... list of garments)
8.2.Nbk '2'¹[+x]	BM 51274:16 (<i>išparu</i> , list of garments for different gods)
[x].' ² ¹.[Nbk x]	BM 50439:7 (early <i>dullu pešû</i> list of garments)
[x.(3).Nbk x]	BM 53364:4', 7' (script and context similar to that of BM 50938, however, direct joins do not exist)
12.8.Nb[k x]	BM 51293:7 (early <i>dullu pešû</i> list of garments)
13.8.Nbk [x]	BM 52731:2 (UŠ/[BAR]; delivery of garments, <i>dullu gamru</i> for Šamaš [...] Bunene, Adad and Šala)
13.8.Nbk [x]	BM 51262:5 (delivery of garment for <i>lu-bul-ti</i> ^{iti} APIN)
[x].8.[Nbk x]	BM 50938:3', 8' (content identical with BM 51099, BM 51447 and BM 50745)
13.12.Nbk [x]	BM 50255:7 (delivery of garments, <i>dullu gamru</i>)
[x.x].Nbk [x]	BM 51685:1' (frg. of a text mentioning headdresses <i>kulūlu</i> and <i>mēṭu</i>)
[x.x].Nb[k x]	BM 52102:8 (broken list of garments; early <i>dullu pešû</i> texts)
7.[x.Nbk]² x]	BM 51296:6', rev. '12'¹ (early <i>dullu pešû</i> list of garments)
[Nbk]² x]-'V'¹-[x]	BM 52330:6 (list of garments; early <i>dullu peš û</i> text)
[Nbk x]	BM 61920:9 (broken early <i>dullu pešû</i> text)
[Nbk x]	BM 51568 rev. 3' (text similar to BM 51099 and others)
[x.x.Nbk x]	BM 51659 col. II 7' (script and content similar to BM 50066)
24.[x].Nbn 0	BM 71878:4 (mentioned as the owner of Bakûa)
3.5.Nbn 1	BM 84214:7 (wool for Nabû-ēreš, Nabû-mukkea and ^{4md} AG-û-pi-ni-ja ^{5r10} gal-la ša'¹ ^{md} AG-EN-[MU.MEŠ] ^{6r10} UŠ.BAR¹)

- 10.8.[Nbn] 1 BM 59834+:1 (^m*Ba-ku-ú-a ù* ^{md}[AG-PAP] ^{2lu}*la-’-ta-nu šá* ^{md}AG-EN-MU.MEŠ ^{lu}[UŠ.BAR])
- 4.[x].Nbn 2 BM 62971:12 [^{md}AG-EN-M]U.MEŠ ^{lu}UŠ.BAR)
- [x.x.Nbn] 3 BM 100960:4’, rev. 3’ (wool as *kurummatu*)
- 9.4.Nbn 4 BM 84470:7 (issue of wool for *lubuštu ša* ^{iti}DU₆ *a-na* ^{md}AG-ú-pi-ni-ja ^{6lu}*la-mu-ta-nu* ⁷[^{md}A]G-EN-MU.MEŠ ^{lu}UŠ.[BAR] ⁸SUMⁱⁿ)
- 4.[x].Nbn 5 BM 67934:2 (silver as his *pappasu*)
- 20+x.8.Nbn 7 BM 65047:7 (Bakûa, ^{lu}*qalla* of N-b-š)
- 20.5.Nb[n] ^{†91} BM 62962:7 (with the title; mentioned as the owner of Bakûa)
- [x.x.x] BM 71337 rev. 3’ (^{md}AG-EN-<MU>.MEŠ; small frg. of text concerning garments; in obv. 2 probably the date:]24 [; in rev. 7; maybe year MU.SAG[...], i.e. 24th day of the month [x] of the accession year)
- 5.4.[KN x] BM 101411:5 (frg. of the left side of the tablet concerning TÚG.KUR.RA garments ⁴*ina É SÍG.HI.A* [...] ^{5md}AG-EN-M[U.MEŠ...])
- [x.x.x] BM 83271:4 (as father of Balātu)
- [x.x.x] BM 65772:4’, 8’ (without title, however, he received *takiltu* wool)

Nabû-dala’, *saqqaya*

- [x.x.x] BM 83539:8’ (with Nabû-šum-iddin)

Nabû-dîni-ēpuš, *išpar birmi*

- 12.11.Nbn 8 BM 64937:10 (^{md}AG-di-<ni>-DÚ^{us} ^{lu}UŠ.[BAR])

Nabû-ēreš, <*išparu*>

- 3.5.Nbn 1 BM 84214:3 (received wool with Nabû-muk(k)ea, Nabû-upnīya, the slaves of N-b-š)

Nabû-ēṭir/Nergal-ēṭir, *išpar kitê*

- 12.6.Nbn 17 BM 65302:6 (issue of wool on behalf of Bēl-aḥḥē-iqīša, *qīpu* Ebabbar for *šābē ēpiš dulli*; here with the name of the father, but without title)
- 20.2.Camb 6 BM 63992 (= Bertin 1868):9,12 (wool for him)

Nabû-ile’i, *išpar kitê/pūšaja*

- 8.†21.Nbn 12 BM 68902:7 (ledger of garments delivered by *išpar kitê*)
- [x.x.x] BM 65057:4 (in a list of *išpar kitê*, maybe under supervision of Bazuzu)

Nabû-ittannu/Zēriya, *išpar birmi*

- [x.x].Camb 7 BM 79603:6 (issue of *kitinnû*; without title; only here with the father’s name, if the same persons is meant)
- 22.4.Dar 17 BM 64563:12 (^{lu}UŠ.BAR)
- 5.1.Dar 28 BM 82568:4 (received silver for buying blue-purple wool for *adilānu ša kusītu* of Šarrat Sippar; third line fully erased)

Nabû-mukîn-apli, išparu

30.[5].Nbn 11 BM 61916:1 [*dullu pešû ša lu-bu*]-uš-tu₄ šá^{iti}KIN^{md}AG-DU-A^[2 SUM^{na}])

4.6.[Nbn x] BM 61438:11 (see Bēl-ibni)

Nabû-muk(k)ea, <išparu?>

3.5.Nbn 1 BM 84214:3 (received wool, together with Nabû-ereš, Nabû-upnīya, the slave(s) of N-b-š)

Nabû-nāšir, mār šipri etc. and išparu

10.8.[Nbn] 1 BM 59834+:1 (*dul-lu* BABBAR^u ^m*Ba-ku-ú-a* ^u ^{md}[AG-PAP] ² ^{lu}*la-*
-ta-nu šá^{md}AG-EN-MU.MEŠ^{lu}[UŠ.BAR])

4.[x].Nbn 5 BM 67934:3 (*B[a-ku-ú-a]* ^{3md}AG-PAP^{md}UTU-ri-š[*u-ú-a*] ^{4u} ^{md}AG-up-
ni-ja)

7.1.Nbn 6 BM 79134:[8], 14 (blue-purple wool and *dullu* šá^{iti}GUD MU.6.KÁM; together with (Ana-)Nabû-upnīya and Bakûa)

30.7.Nbn 7 BM 83511:6 (blue-purple wool for ¹*lu-bu-uš*-<tu₄> šá^{iti}APIN⁵[MU].7.KÁM; together with (Ana-)Nabû-upnīya and Bakûa)

[x.x.Nbn] 8 BM 79793+ obv. col. I 5 (cf. Ana-Nabû-upnīya)

9.5.Nbn [x] BM 59423:3, 8 (issue of blue-purple wool and barley for Nabû-nāšir, Bakûa and Nabû-upnīya)

x+2.8.[Nbn x] BM 62065:1 (frg. of a typical *dullu pešû* text; together with Bakûa)

[x.x.x] BM 101428 rev. 5' (barley, *ri-hi* ŠUKU.ĪI.A [...] ⁶[...] ^{md}AG-PAP^m*Ba-ku-ú-a*¹)

Nabû-nāšir-apli/Balāṭu, išparu

23.12.Nbn 4 BM 61749:5 (silver, as his *pappasu* is given to Nabû-nāšir, Bakûa and Nabû-upnīya)

[x.x].Nbn 4 BM 66247:1 (*dullu pešû*)

[x].3.Nb[n] 5 BM 99937:3 (issue of wool for *lubuštu a-na* ^m*Ba-ku-ú-a* ^{llú}*qal-la*
^{4md}AG-na-šir-IBILA^{llú}UŠ.BAR])

11.12.Nbn 5 BM 62119+1 (*dullu pešû* list of garments)

4.7.Nbn 10 BM 62582+:2 (*dullu pešû* list of garments; ^m*Ba-ku-ú-a*
^{2lu}*qal-la* šá^{md}AG-na-šir-<A>^{lu}UŠ.BAR)

15.7.Nbn 11 BM 72315:7 (cf. Bakûa)

21.8.Nbn 13 BM 60933:6 (wool for ⁴*ni-bi-ḥu ku-si-tu*₄ ¹*pa-tin*²-*ni*¹ ⁵šá^{md}M[U.13.
KÁ]M MU.14.KÁM ⁶[*a-na*] ^{md}AG-na-šir-A ⁷[*u*] ^m*Ba-a-ku-ú-a* ^{<lu>}*qal-*
li-šú SUM^{nu})

27.[x.Nbn] 13 BM 64920:5 (silver *ina pappasu išparūtu* šá^{iti}Tašrītu for Nabû-nāšir-apli and Bakûa)

[x].7.Nbn 14 BM 68982:1 (*dullu pešû* list of garments)

29.10.Nbn 15 BM 101418:3 (wool [*ana*] *lubuštu* šá^{iti}BÁR [*ana* ^{md}AG]-PAP-A
^u ^m*Ba-ku-ú-a* ^{lu}UŠ.BAR)

- [x.5².Nbn 16²] BM 101215:6' (silver *ša a-na dul-lu a-na* ^{md}AG-PAP-A ⁷[x x x] ^m*Ba-ku-ú-a* ^{lu}UŠ.BAR SUM^{na})
- 5.7.N[bn] 16 BM 65503:1 (*dullu pešû* list; *lu-b*]u-uš-tu₄ *ša* ^{iti}DU₆ ^{md}AG-na-[*šir*-A] ²[^{lu}UŠ.BAR SUM^{na}])
- 2.7.Cyr <-> BM 64673+2 (*dullu pešû* list; mentioned as the person who worked under the supervision of Šamaš-šum-iddin: ²*ša* ^{md}AG-PAP-A ^{lu}UŠ.BAR *ša* ^{md}UTU-MU-M[U])
- [x.x].Cyr [x] BM 83973:3 (*dullu pešû* list concerning garments for *lubuštu* of Araḥ-samna *ša* ^m[x x x] ^{4lu}*qal-la* *ša* ^{md}AG-n[*a-šir*-IBILA] ⁵TÚG.BABBAR (sic!))
- 3.[x].[Ach] 7 BM 71730:2 (*dullu pešû* list of garments)
- 30.12.[KN x] BM 62244:1 (^{md}AG-na-š[*ir*-A ...; *dullu pešû* list of garments)
- [x.x.x] BM 64205:15' (with Bakûa; provision for different temple personnel, measured in KUR)
- [x.x.x] BM 69915, rev. 4' (^{md}AG-PAP ^{lu}A *šip-ri*; in frg. of text similar to *miḫšu tenû* text)
- [x.x.x] BM 65341:8 (issue of blue-purple wool for Bakûa, *qalla* of Nabû-nāšir-apli)

Nabû-natan/Bêl-aḥa-šubši, *saqqaya*

- 11.9.Cyr 0 BM 70160:25 (in ration list; brother of Arad-Bunene/Bêl-aḥa-šubši *saqqaja*)

Nabû-šum-iddin, *saqqaya*

- [x.x.x] BM 83539:8' (with Nabû-dala')

Nabû-ušur-šu

- 22.2.Dar 31 BM 65133:4 (*išparu*)

Nabû-zêr-ibni/Puḫḫuru, <*išparu*?>

- 14.5.Nbp 6 *OrŠu* 50, no. 9: 2, 5 (together with Nabû-ušallim received wool for *lubuštu* Ulûlu and later gives back (alone) a part of it to É DINGIR)
- [x].3.<Nbp> 13 BM 50623:7 (issue[?] of wool, besides Dummuqu; probably identical with Nabû-zêr-ibni//Išparu)

Nādin/Nabû-bêl-šumāte, *išparu*

- 18.5.Nbk 11 BM 73327:4 (delivers *lubāri ša šippata ultu ki-i-ri* of Erība-Marduk)
- 2.10.Nbk 138¹ BM 67013:8 (issue of 1 ½ shekels of silver; with patronymic)
- 6.2.Nbk 42 BM 66096:2 (issue of 1 shekel of silver; with patronymic)
- 4.12.[Nbk² x] BM 60783:3 (receipt for KUR.RA-garments; without title and patronymic)

Nādin, *išpar kitê*

- [x.x].Cyr 4 BM 64903:7 (at the heading: *mu-šip-tu₄ ša a-na* ²*su-ni-e na-ša-a*)
- 12.[x].[KN] 10+ BM 83545:17 (small frg. concerning garments of the gods; without title)

Nergal-iddin/Šamaš-ētir, išparu and ēpišānu (from Kutû)

- 20.8.[Nb]^rn¹ 9 BM 101726:11 (received *takiltu* wool *a-na dul-lum* [...] ¹⁰*a-na* ^{túg}*na-hal-lap-tu₄ šá^d A-a*)
- 15.2.Nbn 11 BM 69711:4 (silver *ina pap-pa-su* ²[šá] *lu-bu-uš-tu_u* ⁴[a]-na ^{md}U+GUR-M[U])
- 11.[x].Nbn 11 BM 59723:23 (wool ²¹*a-na lu-bu-uš-tu₄ šá* UD.14.KÁM UD.15.KÁM *šáⁱⁱⁱ [x]* ²²*šá^d UTU^d A-a Bu-ne-ne u^d GAŠAN* UD.KIB.[NUN.KI] ²³^{md}U+GUR-MU ^{lú}UŠ.BAR *it-ta-din*)
- [x].2.Nbn 13 BM 101060:2 (*miḥṣu tenû* list of garments; without title)
- 15.2.Nb[n] 15 BM 72325:3 (wool ^{2sig}*ta-bar-ri <dul-lu> (?) pi-ri¹-[š]i[?]* ^{3md}U+GUR-MU *ittadin*)
- [x.5[?].Nbn 16[?]] BM 101215:7' (frg.; at the heading: ^{3'}[x x x] ⁱⁱⁱNE MU.9.KÁM ^{4'}[x x x] *a-di-i* ⁱⁱⁱNE MU.16.KÁM *ina lib-bi* ^{5'}[x] ^{5/6}*ma-na* KÜ.BABBAR *a-na* ^{md}U+GUR-MU *e-piš-an-nu*)
- [x.x.x] BM 68670:2 (^{mr}dU+GUR¹-MU; *miḥṣu tenû* list)

Nergal-uballit/Itti-makû-ilāni, išpar birmi

- 6.5.Npb 15 BM 49607: 10 (^{lu}UŠ.BAR *bir-ri*)
- [x].10.[Nbk?] 30 BM 83706:3 (silver for *takiltu* wool for ^{md}U+GUR-TIN^{it} [A-šú šá] ^{4m}*It-ti-ma-[ku-DINGIR]* ^{šlu}UŠ.BAR *bir-[mu]*)
- 21.9.[KN x] BM 65206:5 (N-u; cf. Līširu)

Nidinṭu/Balāṭu, <išparu[?]>

- [x.x.Camb[?]] BM 84072:5' (cf. above Abu-ūl-īdi)

Nidinṭu(?) / Nādin

- (ca. 8.[Dar] 20) BM 65729 rev. 6' (frg. of an *iškaru* list; without title)
- 9.2.Dar 22 BM 65592:8 (an *iškaru* list; in l. 10 ^m*Du-ú-<mu>-qu*, ŠEŠ-šú, i.e. his brother. The reading of the last sign in the name of Nidinṭu is uncertain (*tu*, but *iṭ* is also possible; courtesy J. MacGinnis))

Nidintu, ašlāku

- 12.[x].Ach 5 BM 61597:10 (^{lu}TÚG.BABBAR)

Nūr-Šamaš, išpar birmi

- 21.9.[KN x] BM 65206:1 (N-Š; cf. Līširu)

Paršu (= Puršu), saqqaja

- 11.9.Cyr 0 BM 70160:24 (^m*Pur-šu-ú^{lu} saq-qa-a-a*; ration list)
- (Probably identical with Puršu, *mār šipri* of Marduk-šum-iddin, the *šangû* of Sippar in BM 74502 (= Bertin 1700): 6 (24.5.Cyr 5))

Rēḫētu/Itti-makû-ilāni, išpar birmi

- 2.8.Nbn 7 BM 79383:5 (blue-purple wool for *sūnu ša bīt Anunītu* for Nabû-apla-iddina ⁵[u] ^m*Ri-ḫi-tu₄*)
- 1^r5¹.12.Camb ^r1¹ BM 59003:4 (*ēpišānu* of Aḫḫē-iddin-Marduk)

- 10.6.Camb 3 BM 61107:10 (^m[Ri]-*hi-tu*₄ ^l[úU]Š.BAR *bir-^rmu*¹)
- 21.7.Camb [x] BM 66698:3 (wool for *nēbehu* of Šamaš for R.)
- 9.3.Dar 5 BM 66061:4', 6' (silver for [x x] ³*a-na ši-pi šá gab-bi-šú* (sic)
⁵*e-lat* 1 GÜ.UN 5 *ma-na hu-rat*)
- [x].8.[KN] 8 BM 63522:4 (received *inzahurētu* and alum) for dying)
- [x.x.x] BM 61328 rev. 6' (frg. of text concerning garments for the gods)
- [x.x.x] BM 99535:2', 6; (frg. of a text concerning *dullu šá nēbehu* [šá] *Šamaš u Bunene*; mentioned together with ^{lu}ERÍN.MEŠ-šú)

Rēmūt-(Bēl)/Šamaš-zēr-ibni, *išpar kitē*

- [x.x.x] BM 65057:5 (in a list of *išpar kitē*, maybe under supervision of Bazuzu)

Sūqaya/Bēl-apla-iddina, *muppaššū*

- 20.5.Camb 1 BM 65741:7 (silver for wool for ^mSILA-*a-a* KI.MIN (= *mu-pa-šu-ú*)
- (ca. 8.[Dar] 20) BM 65729:4' (frg. of an *iškaru* list; without title)
- 22.10.Dar 24 BM 67080:5 (wool for *šibtu* for bed of Šamaš, without filiation and title)
- [x.x.x] BM 65057:7 (in a list of *išpar kitē*, maybe under supervision of Bazuzu)

Sūqaya/Libluṭ

- 9.2.Dar 22 BM 65592:6 (deliverer of five linen *salhu* in an *iškaru* list; the brother of ^mZa-bi-ni A ^mLib-luṭ; courtesy J. MacGinnis)

Šillā, *ašlāku*

- [x].6.Nbk 13 BM 82581:20 (^mŠil-la-a ²¹ ^{lu}[TÚ]G.BABBAR)
- [x.x.Nbk] 19 BM 67178:8' (^mŠil-la-a ^{lu}TÚG.BABBAR; courtesy J. MacGinnis)
- 2.1.Nbk 36 BM 62718:3 (^mŠil-la-a ^{lu}TÚG.BABBAR)
- 30.7.<Nbk> 38 BM 65007:5 (dates *ina ki-is-ki-^rri* ^{šá} ⁴*ina ^rmaš^l-šar-tu*₄ ^{šá} ^{iti}GAN
⁵*a-na* ^mŠil-la-a ^{6lu}TÚG.BABBAR SUM^{na})
- [x.x.x] BM 67735:4' (probably deliverer of bricks)
- [x.x.x] BM 70163:9' (^mŠil-la-a ^{lu}TÚG.BABBAR; delivery of bricks)

Šamaš-aḫa-iddinā/Šamaš-ēreš, *išpar kitē*

- [x.x.x] BM 65057 rev. 1' (in a list of *išpar kitē*, under the supervision of Šulā)
- [x.x.x] BM 72810:9' (among 14 ^{lu}UŠ.BAR GADA; without father's name)

Šamaš-aḫa-iddina, *išpar birmi/šāpū*

- 6.5.Npb 15 BM 49607:7 (*išpar birmi*)
- [x.x.x] BM 62003:4 (small frg. of a text concerning blue-purple wool for *naḥlaptu* of Aya)

Šamaš-aḥḥē-bulliṭ, išpar kitê[x.x.x] BM 72810:10' (among 14 ^{lu}UŠ.BAR GADA)**Šamaš-aḥḥē-iddina/Bunene-ibni, išpar kitê**8.ʿ2¹.Nbn 12 BM 68902:9 (ledger of garments; cf. lines 9–10 of the text:

9	1	(<i>hullānu</i>)			^{md} UTU-ŠEŠ-MU
10	3	(<i>hullānu</i>)	1	(<i>salḥi</i>)	A ^{md} ḪAR-DÙ

(It is not clear to me why the compiler of the text divided information about *hullānu* into two lines.)**Šamaš-ana-bīt-akītu/Libluṭ**(ca. 8.[Dar] 20) BM 65729:6' (^{md}UTU-*a-na*-<É-*a*>-*ki-tu*₄; frg. of an *iškaru* list)9.2.Dar 22 BM 65592:7 (an *iškaru* list; delivery of one linen *hullānu*; the brother of Sūqaya and *Zabinu*; courtesy J. MacGinnis)**Šamaš-ēdu-uṣur, šāpû**

6.5.Nbp 15 BM 49607: 8

Šamaš-ēreš, išpar kitê8.ʿ2¹.Nbn 12 BM 68902:13 (ledger of garments delivered by the *išpar kitê*; note that before his name no garments are enumerated!)**Šamaš-iddin/Nabû-aḥḥē-ušallim, <išparu?>**15.10.Dar 18 BM 61114:10 (*miḥṣu dullu lubuṣtu ša Adad* (sic!) *ša* ^{md}UTU-MU A ^{md}AG-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-GI *id-din-^lnu*¹ x (erasure)**Šamaš-irlaya**(ca. 8.[Dar] 20) BM 65729:3' (frg. of an *iškaru* list)**Šamaš-ittīa, mukabbû**[x.x.x] BM 61364 rev. 8' (PAP 14 GADA *ina* IGI ^{md}UTU-*it-ti-iá* ^{8*}*u* ^m*Ar-ra-bi*)[x.x.x] BM 63568 col. I 2' ([^{md}UTU]-KI-*ja*, with the title)**Šamaš-kāṣir/Lū-idīa, išpar kitê**

20.5.Camb 1 BM 65741 rev. 7' (silver for wool for Š-k/L-i)

The father's name was squeezed in later, after the next line had already been written, probably to avoid identification problems because at that time two persons with the same name were active in the textile industry.

Šamaš-na'id, išpar kitê[x.x.x] BM 72810:9' (among 14 ^{lu}UŠ.BAR GADA)**Šamaš-rē'ua, išpar kitê**8.ʿ2¹.Nbn 12 BM 68902:6 (ledger of garments delivered by *išpar kitê*)

Probably another person of the same name was active at the same time, cf. l. 17:

[] šá ^dHAR ^{md}UTU-SIPA!-u-a, however, SIPA is emended because the sign did not resemble any known character)

[x.x.x] BM 65057 rev. 3' (in a list of *išpar kitê*, under the supervision of Šulā)

Šamaš-riš[ua], *išparu* (?)

4.[x].Nbn 5 BM 67934:2 (^{md}AG-EN-MU.MEŠ ^mB[a-ku-ú-a] ^{3md}AG-PAP ^{md}UTU-ri-š[u-ú-a] ^{4u} ^{md}AG-up-ni-ja)

Šamaš-šimanni, *išpar kitê*

[x.x.x] BM 62099 obv. II 8' (one out 11 ^{lú}UŠ.BA[R.MEŠ] in a ration list)

Šamaš-šum-ibni, (*išparu*)

[x.x].Kand 15 BM 50209+:6, 17 (together with (Bēl)-Iqīša)

Šamaš-šum-iddina, *ēpišānu, išparu, ašlāku*

13.8.Nbn [x] BM 65708:2 ([^{md}UTU-MU]-MU; *miḥṣū tenū* list)

10+x.3.Nbn 1'5'1 BM 83647:3 (^{md}UTU-M[U-MU] ^{4lú}TÚG.BABBAR)

3.7.Nb[n] 12 BM 64651:1 (*miḥṣū tenū* list)

5.1.Camb (= Cyr) 1 BM 61498:3 (*dullu pešū ša lubuštu ša* UD.7.K[AM] šá ^{iti}BÁR ^{3md}UTU-MU-MU *id-din-nu*)

[x].1.Cyr 2 BM 68964:3 (*miḥṣū tenū* list; *ašlāku*)

3.6.Cyr 4 BM 59013+:2 ([*miḥṣu*] *tenū* list)

15.7.Cyr 8 BM 101489:3 (barley [*pappasu*] *išparūtu* for Š-š-i)

11.8.Cyr 8 BM 61182:3 (*dullu* ^{lú}UŠ.BAR *tenū ša lubuštu ša* ^{iti}APIN ^{md}UTU-MU-MU *iddinu*)

[x].f2'1.Cyr BM 67149:2 ([*miḥṣ*] *tenū ša* [*lubuštu ša* ^{iti}x] ²[UD.x.KÁM] *a-na* ^{md}UTU-MU-MU ^{lú}[TÚG.BABBAR²])

2.7.Cyr <x> BM 64673+:2 (*dullu pešū ša lubuštu ša* U[D ...] ²šá ^{md}AG-PAP-A ^{lú}UŠ.BAR šá ^{md}UTU-MU-M[U])

8.[x].Cyr [x] BM 70916:2 (*miḥṣū tenū* list of garments; *ašlāku*)

17.[x].Cyr [x] BM 101312:4 ([^{md}UTU]-MU-MU and Arad!-Bunene have delivered to Ebabbar two red *paršṭgu* (and²) [x]+ 3²/₃ shekels of silver)

5.10.Camb 2 BM 76747:1, rev. 2' (*ēpišānu*)

14.5.Camb 3 BM 84034:4', 7' (received *takiltu* wool for *lubuštu* Tašrītu)

8.2.Camb 5 BM 67160:2, rev. 5' (*dul-^flu¹ <pešū> ša lubuštu ša* ^{iti}GUD ^fUD.10.KAM¹ šá ^{md}UTU-MU-MU *id-[din]-nu*)

13.8.Camb 6 BM 64657:2 (*dullu pešū šaḥū ša* [*lubuštu*] ša ^{iti}APIN šá ^{md}UTU-MU-^fMU¹ [*iddinu*])

30.5.Camb 7 BM 61517:14 ([*miḥṣu tenū* list; ^{lú}TÚG.BABBAR)

10+[x].5.Camb [x] BM 74002:[2] (*miḥṣu tenū* list of garments; *a-[na* ^{md}UTU-MU-MU] ^{3lú}TÚG.BABBAR)

- 21.7.Camb [x] BM 66698:7 (title broken; the text concerns wool and *išparūtu*-prebend; Rēhētu is also mentioned)
- [x.x].Camb [x] BM 65484:2 ([*miḥṣu*] *tenû ša lu[buštu šá* UD.x.KAM *šá* ^{iti}x ²*a-na* ^{md}UTU-MU-MU ^{lu}TÚG.BABBAR)
- [x.x].Camb [x] BM 72305:2 ([*miḥṣu te*]nû list of garments; ^{md}UTU-MU-MU ^{lu}TÚG.[BABBAR])
- 23.2.Dar 7 *OrSu* 49:4 (silver *pappassu išparūtu* for Ayaru for ^{md}UTU-MU-MU)
- [x].¹5¹.Dar 11 BM 64869:9 (received silver for buying the *ḥūratu*-dye; courtesy R. Tarasewicz)
- 12.12.Dar 15 BM 61162:3 (*dullu peṣû ša lubuštu ša* ^{iti}ŠE ^{md}UTU-MU-MU *iddinu*)
- 22.4.Dar 17 BM 64563:10 (blue-purple wool for [*lu*]buštu *ša Šamaš [ša* UD.3.KAM *ša* ^{iti}KIN MU.17.KAM [*a*]na ^{md}UTU-MU-MU SUMnd)
- 15.1.Dar 18 BM 61970:9 (issue of *takiltu*-wool for work for month [Ayar] for Š-š-i ^{lu}...)
- 25.2.Dar 18 BM 61459:2, 13 (delivery of garments of the gods, in l. 2 with the title: ^{lu}TÚG.BABBAR)
- 15.9.Dar 18 BM 61114:2 (l. 1 heavily broken, maybe [*dul-lu*] ¹pi¹-ši-i [...²šá ^{md}UTU-MU-[U]-MU ^{lu}UŠ.[BAR])
- 12.[x].[Dar] 18 BM 66202:3 (^{md}UTU-MU-MU ^{lu}UŠ.BAR; wool *ana lubuštu [ša* ITI.x))
- 6.5.Dar 21 BM 61228:4 (wool *ina lubuštu ša* ^{iti}KIN *ana* ^{md}UTU-MU-MU)
- 26.11.Dar 2[3] BM 83877:3, rev. 4' (l. 3: ^{lu}UŠ.<BAR>; wool *a-na [lubuštu]* ²šá ITI.GUD MU.24.KÁM)
- 28.1.Dar 25 BM 68875+:5 (^{lu}UŠ.BAR)
- 26.1.Dar 28 BM 64564:9 (*inzaḥurētu* for the *kušitu* and the *naḥlaptu* of Aya for ^{md}UTU-MU-MU ^{lu}UŠ.BAR *iddina*)
- 17.10.Dar 28 BM 76347:3 (^{lu}UŠ.BAR; wool for *lubuštu* Addaru)
- 3.1.Dar 29 BM 60900:3 (wool for *lubuštu ša Šamaš ša* UD.10.KÁM *ša* ^{iti}GUD ... for ^{md}UTU-MU-MU ^{lu}UŠ.BAR)
- [x.x].Dar [x] BM 65162:2 (*dullu peṣû ša lubuštu [ša* ^{iti}x] *ša* ^{md}UTU-MU-MU ^{lu}UŠ.BAR *iddinu*)
- 5.2.Dar [x] BM 61883:4 (wool for *lubuštu* ... for ^{md}UTU-MU-MU ^{lu}UŠ.BAR)
- [x.x.x] BM 61328:2 (badly preserved frg.of a text concerning garments of the gods)
- 12.[x].Ach 5 BM 61597:5 (^{lu}UŠ.BAR)
- 5.7.Ach 7 BM 68348+:2 (*miḥṣu tenû* list of garments; ^{md}UTU-MU-MU ^{lu}TÚG.BABBAR)
- [x].6.Ach 8 BM 83210:8 (^{md}UTU-MU-[MU; issue of wool)

- [x.x.Ach x] BM 68154:2 (frg. of *dullu pešû* list)
 [x.x.KN] ʾ9¹ BM 77920:2 (frg. concerning garments for gods)
 [x.x.x] BM 73661:2' (frg. of *dullu pešû* list; ^{md}UTU-MU-MU ^{lû}TÚG.BABBAR)

Šamaš-tabni-ušur, *išpar kitê*

- [x.x.x] BM 65057 rev. 2' (in a list of *išpar kitê*, under the supervision of Šulā)

Šamaš-uballiṭ/Bunene-ibni, *išpar kitê*

- [x.x.Nbn/Camb 7] BM 61025:6' (cf. Abi-ūl-īdi)

- 20.5.Camb 1 BM 65741:10 (silver for wool for ^{md}UTU-TIN^[l] u ^{lû}ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú [^{lû} *išpar kitê*]?)

- [x.x.x] BM 72810:9' (among 14 ^{lû}UŠ.BAR GADA; without father's name)

Šamaš-udammiq, <*ašlāku*>

- 5.[x].Nbn 5 BM 54258:1 [*miḥṣu tenû*] list of garments)

Šamaš-zēri/[DN-x-ušab]ši, *išparu*

- 20.5.Camb 7 BM 67125:4 (together with Arad-Bel/[Nabû]-nāšir-apli)

Šamaš-zēr-ibni/Nurēa, *išpar kitê*

- [x.x].Nbn 5 BM 59963:1 ([*miḥṣu tenû*] šá a-na ^{md}UTU-NUMUN-ʾDÚ¹).
 <->.1.Cyr 8 CT 55, 655: 8–9 (mentioned together with Gimillu/Šāpik-zēri; both without titles)
 [x.x.x] BM 65057:6 (in a list of *išpar kitê*, maybe under supervision of Bazuzu)

Šamaš-zēr-ušabši/Šillā, *ašlāku*

- 4.[x].Nbn 4 BM 78893:1 [*miḥṣû*] *tenû ša ana* ^{md}UTU-NUMUN-GÁL^š
²[^{lû}TÚG.BABBAR SU]M^{na})
 [x.x].Nbn 4 BM 73078+:1 (*miḥṣu tenû* list of garments; ^{md}UTU-NUMUN-GÁL^š[^{lû}TÚG.BABBAR])
 27.[x].Nbn 6 BM 70834:1 (*miḥṣu tenû* list of garments; ^{md}UTU-NUMUN-GÁL^š
²[^{lû}TÚG.BABBAR])
 20+x.8.Nbn 7 BM 65047:7–8 (Š-z-u/[DU]MU ^mŠil-la-a)
 3.[x].Nbn 8 BM 61783:1 ([*miḥṣu tenû*] list of garments)
 [x.x.Nbn 8] BM 79793+, obv. col. I 11, 15 (l. 11: [^{md}UTU-NUM]UN-GÁL^š A
^r^mŠil²-la¹) (cf. Ana-Nabû-upnīya)
 3.1.Nbn 11 BM 61914:1 (*miḥṣu tenû* list of garments)
 [x.x.Nbn[?]] BM 66166 rev. 8' (broken text concerning linen clothes *ana tabê*, similar to Nbn 694, 696 and Cyr 185)
 2.7.[Nbn x] BM 59871:2' ([*miḥṣu tenû*] list of garments; [^{md}UTU-NUMUN-GÁL]^š ^{lû}TÚG.BABBAR)
 3.1.[Nbn? x] BM 79616:4–5 (wool ⁴a-na ^{md}UTU-NUMUN-GÁL^š ⁵A-šú šá ^mŠil-la-a)

- 13+. [x.Nbn x] BM 84500:6' (*kibsu*-garments for [...] Anunītu, Gula [...] ⁶*a[na]*
^{md}UTU-NUMUN-GÁL^š 7' ^{lu}TÚG¹.BABBAR)

Ša-^dNabû-duqušû

- [x.x.x] BM 72810:12' (among 14 ^{lu}UŠ.BAR GADA; ^mšá-^dAG-du-qu-šû)

Šāpik-zēri/Šamaš-aḥa-iddina, head of *išparātu birmi/šapû*

- 28.[x].Nbk [x] BM 76362:2 (wool for ^mDUB-NUMUN ³^{lu}UŠ.BAR *bir-m[u]*)
- [x].8.[Nr]g/[Nb]k 3 BM 64798:7 (issue of red and blue-purple wool and alum. Only last part of the king's name – ŠEŠ is preserved)
- 27.12.[Nbn] 2+ BM 59990:4 (issue of alum for the *adilānu ša kusītu* of Aja for ^mDUB-NUMUN A-šû [^šá] ⁵[^{md}UT]U-[ŠEŠ-MU])
- 10.7.Nb[n] 3 BM 66460:8 (wool *a-na* ⁶*ši-i-pu šá* TÚG.[GÚ].UD.DU ⁷šá ^dA-a *a-na* Š-z/Š-a-i)
- 16.1.Nbn 4 BM 79352:7 (issue of *inzaḥurētu*-dye for *tabarri*-wool for *nēbeḥu* of Šamaš and Bunene ⁷[*a*]na ^mDUB-NUMUN)
- 28.7.[Nbn] 5 BM 83408 (obv. broken), rev. 1' [*a*]-na ^mDUB-NUMUN A ^{md}UTU-[MU-MU]); 1. 3': (wool) [*a*]-na *ši-pi šá* GADA GU.ZA ⁴[*a*]-na ^mDUB-NUMUN)
- 4.[x].Nbn 5 BM 67934:5 (in text concerning payment of silver as *pappasu* of Nabû-bēl-šūmāti)
- 4.5.Nbn 5 BM 79222:5 (issue of *ta[kiltu]* and *inzaḥurētu a-na ku-lu-lu*^{meš} *ù par-ši-ga-nu*)
- 6².2.Nb[n²] 6 BM 84140:4 (left part of tablet of 11 lines concerning garments)
- 20.1.Nbn 7 BM 59642:6, 8 (silver for buying *inzaḥurētu*. Note that l. 7 is fully erased and l. 8 repeats exactly l. 6)
- 2.3.Nbn 8 BM 62259:3 (issue of *takiltu* wool for *sūnu* of [GN] for Š-z. ^{lu}UŠ.[BAR *bir*]-ri)
- 19.7.Nbn 10 BM 67252:14 ([^mDU]B-NUMUN)
- [x].10.Nbn 12 BM 63048:5 (received alum for dying of *kusītu* of Aya)
- 14.12b.Nbn 12 BM 72840:5 (alum ²šá *Mi-šir a-na* ³*dul-lu šá ni-bi-lu* ⁴šá ^dUTU *a-na* ⁵Š-z/Š-a-a-i)
- [x].12b.[Nbn] 12 BM 69122:3 (issue of wool for *nēbeḥu*)
- 20.2.Nbn [x] BM 54888:7 (Š-z/[Š-a-i]; context broken)
- 19.6².Nbn [x] BM 99578:2 (issue of wool for Anunītu delivered to ^mDUB-NUMUN)
- 27.[x.Nbn x] BM 79348:5 (issue of *inzaḥurētu*-dye and alum for *naḥlaptu* of Aya for ^mDUB-NUMUN ^{lu}UŠ.BAR ⁶*bir-ri*)
- [x.x.N]bn [x] BM 62980:4 (issue of *takiltu* wool for *nēbeḥu* of Šamaš)
- [x].2.[KN x] BM 101847:13' (small frg. of right part of tablet concerning garments for gods)
- 12.[x].Ach 5 BM 61597:6 (together with Uššaya)

- [x.x.x] BM 62149:2, 4 (in a broken text concerning alum and *inzaḥurētu*-dye)
- [x.x.x] BM 60922:6' (frg. of obv. concerning *inzaḥurētu* for dying of [x x] and *naḥlaptu* of Aya^{5'} *a-na dul-lu šá*¹⁰GU[D^{6'} *a-na*^mDUB-NUMUN])
- [x.x.x] BM 69915 rev. 5' (in frg. of text similar to *miḥṣu tenû* text)
- [x.x.x] BM 83918:2 (¹⁰UŠ.BAR; the text concerns issue of wool for people of different professions)

Šarru-Šamšaja, *išpar kitê/pušaya*

- [x.x.x] BM 65057 rev. 5' (in a list of *išpar kitê*, under the supervision of Šulā)
- [x.x.x] BM 72810:15' (among 14 ¹⁰UŠ.BAR GADA)
- [x.x.x] BM 83773 rev. 5' (^mLUGAL-^dUTU-*ja* ^rx¹ ¹⁰*pu-ša-^ra-a¹*)

Šellibi, <*išparu?*>

- 17.5.Dar 2 BM 65377:2 (silver given to Uššāya and Šellibi to buy *inzaḥurētu*)

Šulā, *ašlāku*

- 3.2.Nbk 23 BM 60968:9 (⁷2 *salḥus* 2 *kusītus* and 4 *naḥlaptus* ...⁹*ina* IGI ^mŠu-*la-a*¹⁰[TÚG.BABBA]R⁷)
- [x.x.x] BM 65057 rev. 9' (the supervisor of group of *išpar kitê*)
- [x].5.[x] BM 77466:7 (^mŠu-*la-a* ¹⁰TÚG.[BABBAR] (as the deliverer of bricks))

Šulā, *pūšaja*

- 6.^rx.Nrg x¹ BM 84149:4 (4 *salḥus* and 8 *kibsus a-na zi-ku-t[ú]*)
- 22.7.Nbn ^r2¹ BM 61828:14
- One of three persons active in the textile industry (see Bongenaar, *Ebabbar*, p. 351) is mentioned in:
- 21.2.AmM 1 BM 65367:3 (issue of wool for Šulā u ^mx¹[....])
- 6.2.Nbn 5 BM 64591:13 (without title)

Talimu, <*išparu?*>

- 21.9.[KN x] BM 65206:3 (cf. Līšīru)

Ubalissu-Gula, the owner of the weaver's prebend of the small sanctuaries

- [x].7.Nbn 14 BM 61334:9 (received wool [*pappasu*] *ša bīt* ^dG[*ula*] as the owner of the weaver's prebend?)
- 7.2.Dar 2 BM 61762:3 (white and red wool for *lubuštu* Ayaru of Anunītu-ša-Sippar-Anunītu)
- 17.5.Dar 2 BM 65377 (received silver to buy *inzaḥurētu* dye)
- 21.6.Dar 2 BM 65104:6 (silver for buying *inša[hurē]tu* for *lubuštu* of month [x] for ^mÚ-bal-liṭ-su-^dME.ME)
- [x].6.Ach 8 BM 83210:16 (^mÚ-bal-liṭ-s[u-^dGu-la]; wool for *lubuštu*)
- [x.x].D[ar] 13 BM 65035:9 (issue of wool for *lubuštu ša* Anunītu *šá* MU.13.KÁM *ina qībi* U-G)

- 28.2.Dar 1^r7¹ BM 61598:3' (received wool for [*lubuštu*] Du'uzu of seventeenth year)
- 17.1.Dar 10+x BM 61652:4, 15 (received silver for bying [x] and *inzaḥurētu*)
- 8.3.Dar 20[+x?+] BM 68153:6 (frg. of text mentioning *lubuštu* ceremony)
- 21.2.Dar 27 BM 62170:3, rev. 1² (received wool for *lubuštu* Du'uzu of Anunītu)
- 3.1.Dar 29 BM 60900:4 (wool given to Šamaš-šum-iddin for *lubuštu* Ayaru ... EN ŠIG.HI.A *šá a-na* ^mTIN-su-^dGu-la)
- [x].3.Dar 34 BM 62654:5 (*inzaḥurētu* dye and alum for *lubuštu* Du'uzu of Anunītu)
- 5.[x].Dar [x] BM 99474:5 (^mTIN-s[u-^dGula]); left side of the text mentioning *lubuštu* Anunītu)
- [x.x.x] BM 72999:5', 12' (received [wool?] for alum for *lubuštu* Du'uzu of Anunītu and for *ḥuṣannu* of Dumuzi)

^rUbartu, išparu (?)

- 1.8.[KN x] BM 69225:3 (blue-purple wool for *lubuštu* Araḥsamna was given to ^rU-bar-tu₄ ⁴šá Ē a-si-i)

Uššāya, head of a team of *išparātu kitê/mukabbû*

- 12.[x].Ach 5 BM 61597:7 (together with Šapki-zēri)
- 17.5.Dar 2 BM 65377:2 (silver given to Uššāya and Šellibi to buy *inzaḥurētu*)

Zabīnu/Libluṭ, *išpar kitê/pūšaja*

- (ca. 8.[Dar] 20) BM 65729: 9'; rev. 2' (frg. of an *iškaru* list)
- 9.2.Dar 22 BM 65592:1²1, 5 (*iškaru* list; delivery of three linen *ḥullānus*); Sūqaya (l. 6) and Šamaš-ana-akītu (l. 7), "his brother" (ŠEŠ-šú) are mentioned; courtesy J. MacGinnis)
- 13.8.Dar 28 BM 79711:3 (delivery of *ḥullānu eššu ana* ⁱⁱⁱAPIN; without title and without father's name).

Zēriya, *išpar birmi*

- 6.5.Nbp15 BM 49607: 9 (^mrNUMUN¹-ja ^{lu}UŠ.BAR *bir-ri*; identical with Nabū-zēr-ibni/Išparu?)

-atkal, *pūšaya*

- [x.x].Nbn 13 BM 73979:4 ([-at-kal, ^{lu}pu-ša-a-a in the text concerning *šābē ša šapītu* ...)

-su/Nabû-ile'i

- [x.x.Camb⁷] BM 84072:6' (cf. above Abu-ūl-īdi)

-uballit/-kēšir, <*išparu*?>

- 30.5.Camb 7 BM 61517:2 ([*dullu pešû ša lub*]uštu *ša* UD.3.KÁM *šá* ⁱⁱⁱKIN ... *šá* ^mKal-ba-a [A-šu *šá* ^mx x x u ^{md}GN]-TIN^{if} A ^{md}AG-ki-šir ana Ebabbara iddinū)

TEXTS QUOTED AND DISCUSSED

References following the text refer to pages, while the digit following N to the appropriate note. **Fat** digit refers to the fully published texts. This part is completed with the great support of my daughter Barbara.

ABC 39 – 60	BM 49207 – N 509, 541, 579, 599
	BM 49252 – N 511, 541, 598
ABL 468 – 136	BM 49268 – 67, 75, 198, 216; N 262
ABL 1257 – 110	BM 49273 – 219
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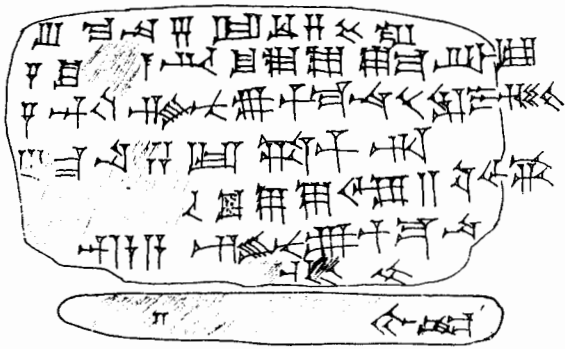
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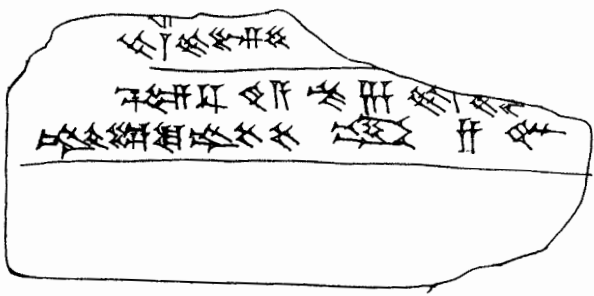
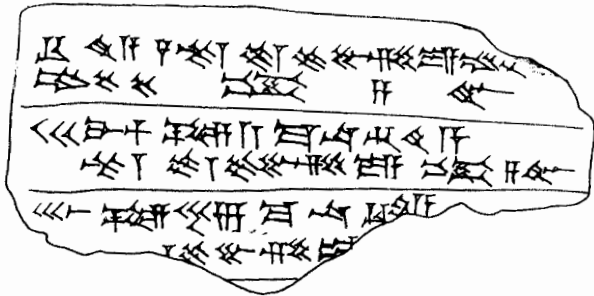
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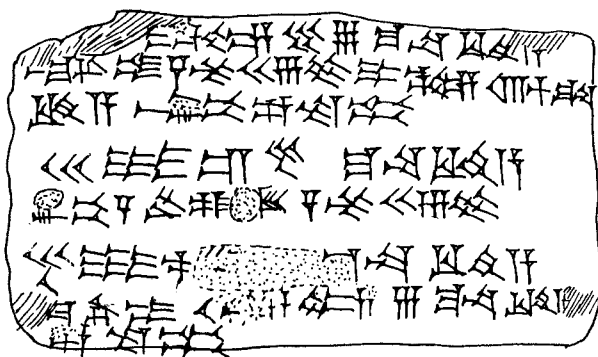
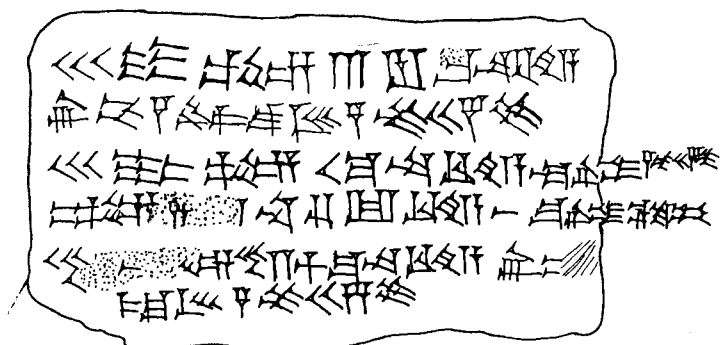
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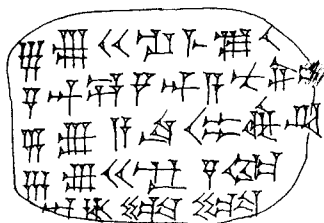
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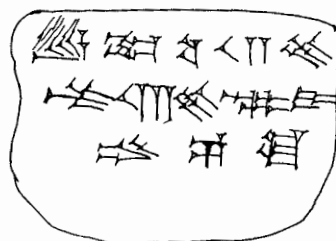
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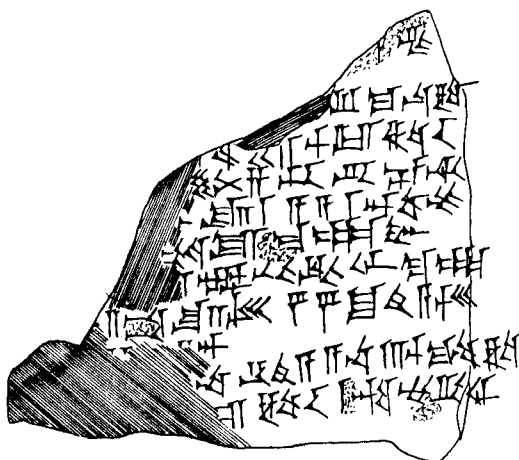
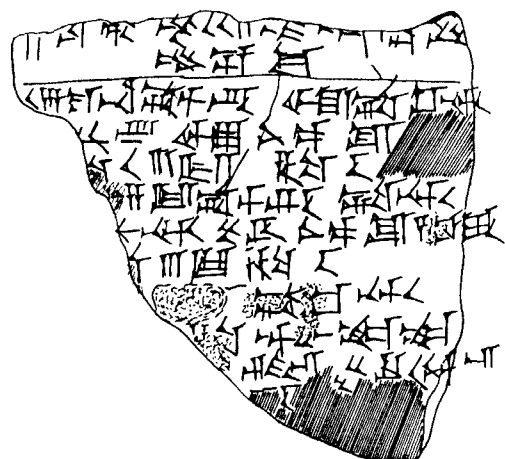
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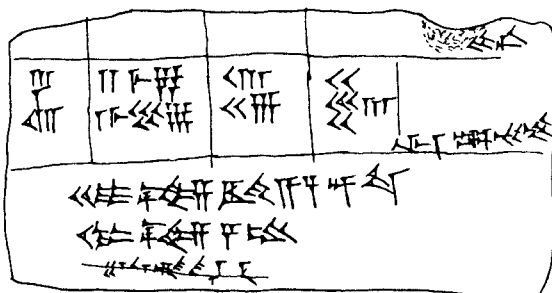
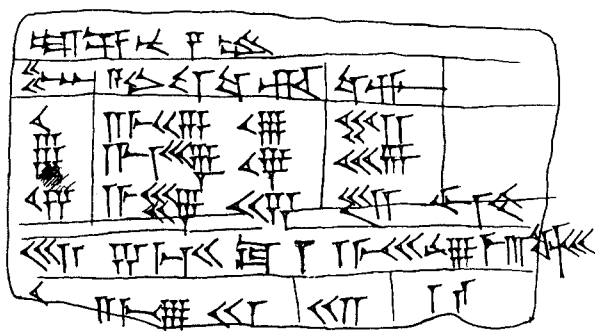
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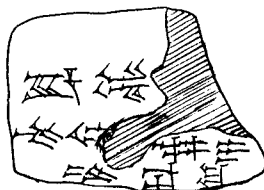
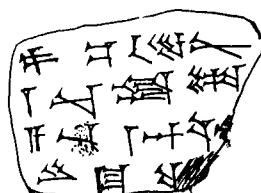
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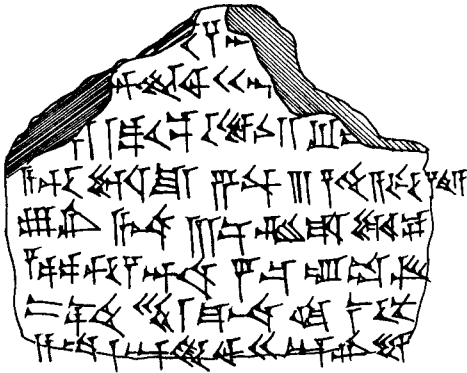
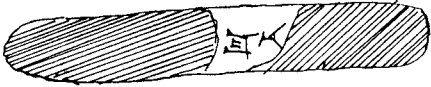
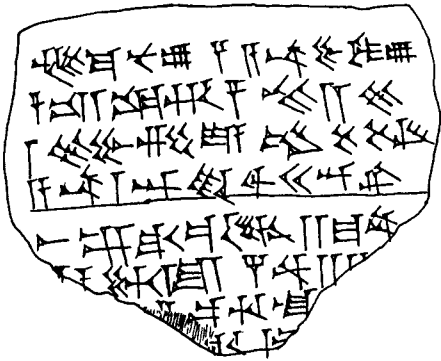
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Summary

This book is based on a large collection of published and unpublished tablets concerning the textile economy in the cultic sphere of the Ebabbar temple at Sippar during the Neo-Babylonian period. First, the question of the organization of the textile industry is dealt with. Further chapters discuss the shape, weight, colour and functions of particular items of garments belonging to gods and goddesses. The conclusions reached are compared with the regulations from the time of Nabu-apal-iddina. Finally, the «garment texts» and animal offering lists provide the basis for a discussion of the pantheon of Neo-Babylonian Sippar and the king's involvement in cultic matters, especially at the time of Nebuchadnezzar II.

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